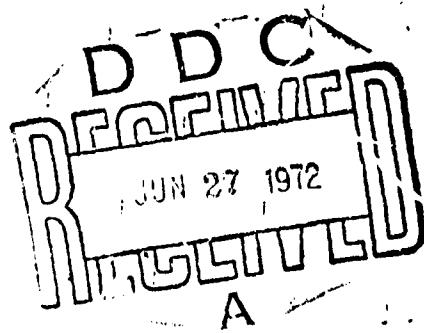


**AREA HANDBOOK
for
CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

AD743821

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FOREWORD

This volume is one of a series of handbooks prepared by Foreign Area Studies (FAS) of The American University, designed to be useful to military and other personnel who need a convenient compilation of basic facts about the social, economic, political, and military institutions and practices of various countries. The emphasis is on objective description of the nation's present society and the kinds of possible or probable changes that might be expected in the future. The handbook seeks to present as full and as balanced an integrated exposition as limitations on space and research time permit. It was compiled from information available in openly published material. An extensive bibliography is provided to permit recourse to other published sources for more detailed information. There has been no attempt to express any specific point of view or to make policy recommendations. The contents of the handbook represent the work of the authors and FAS and do not represent the official view of the United States government.

An effort has been made to make the handbook as comprehensive as possible. It can be expected, however, that the material, interpretations, and conclusions are subject to modification in the light of new information and developments. Such corrections, additions, and suggestions for factual, interpretive, or other change as readers may have will be welcomed for use in future revisions. Comments may be addressed to:

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PREFACE

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (Komunisticka Strana Ceskoslovenska—KSC) came to power in 1948 by means of a coup d'état. For several years the party exerted a rigid, Stalinist-type control but was unable to solve the basic economic and ethnic problems that beset the country. The economy was chronically sluggish, and the Slovaks constantly complained that they were discriminated against by the more numerous, more politically sophisticated Czechs. In the mid-1960s some economic reforms were decreed, but high-level opposition prevented full implementation, leaving the people and the reform-minded faction of the party dissatisfied. In January 1968 the KSC Central Committee deposed its dogmatist leadership and replaced it with a reformist group.

For the next eight months, the world witnessed an experiment that was unique in the histories of communist-ruled states, as the Czechoslovak party attempted to reform itself from within by humanizing and democratizing its policies. The experiment ended on the night of August 20, 1968 when five of Czechoslovakia's Warsaw Pact allies invaded the country to "rescue it from anti-socialist forces." The reform leadership was eventually supplanted, but during its brief tenure, it had united the people in a demonstration of support that had never been achieved by a communist party. In the aftermath of the liberalization, the party once again assumed a dogmatic approach in its control of the Czechoslovak state, and its major ally, the Soviet Union, still maintained several divisions of troops on Czechoslovak soil three years after the invasion.

This handbook attempts to provide a comprehensive and objective exposition of the dominant political, economic, and social aspects of Czechoslovakia, particularly the manner in which these aspects have developed in the post-1968 period. The book is intended to give readers an insight into the component elements and the dynamics of the society, the attitudes of the people, and the relations of the state with its communist and noncommunist neighbors in Europe, as well as with the other countries of the world.

The spelling of place names conforms to the rulings of the United States Board on Geographic Names, with the exception

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that diacritical marks have not been used in this volume. In addition, commonly accepted place names and spellings have been used rather than lesser known Czech or Slovak terms. For example, the capital of the country is given as Prague rather than Praha, and the Elba River, known in Czechoslovakia as the Labe River, is referred to by its more common name. Similarly, Danube is used rather than Dunaj, as is Sudeten in place of Sudety. For the sake of clarity, some Czech or Slovak place names appear in parentheses following their conventional names.

The metric system has been used for land-area measurements (hectares) and for tonnages (metric tons). Conversion factors appear in the text and in the Glossary.

COUNTRY SUMMARY

1. COUNTRY: Since 1960, known as the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Founded in 1918 as a republic, the country was dismembered in 1939; Bohemia-Moravia incorporated into Germany and a puppet regime set up in Slovakia. Reestablished as a republic in 1945, was taken over by communist coup d'etat in 1948.
2. GOVERNMENT: Under Constitution of 1960, as amended in 1968 and 1970, is a federated republic of Czech and Slovak states, with a bicameral legislature and an executive branch. Real power vested in Communist party, whose officials serve concurrently in government positions. Ultimate control centered in position of party general secretary, a post held by Gustav Husak since 1969.
3. SIZE AND LOCATION: With area of 49,371 square miles, lies in heart of central Europe, extending about 500 miles from within western Europe to Soviet Union. Except for Ruthenia, which was ceded to the Soviet Union in 1945, borders generally follow those established for first republic in 1918.
4. TOPOGRAPHY: Generally irregular terrain, western area being part of north-central European uplands and including natural basin centered on Prague. Eastern region made up of northern reaches of Carpathian mountains and Danube basin lands.
5. CLIMATE: Predominantly continental, but varies from moderate temperatures of western Europe to more severe weather systems that affect eastern Europe and western Soviet Union.
6. POPULATION: In mid-1971 approximately 14.5 million, with annual growth rate of about 0.7 percent; density averages 292 persons per square mile, heaviest concentrations being in Bohemia and Moravia. Czechs constitute approximately 65 percent of population and Slovaks, 30 percent; Hungarians largest minority, followed by Germans, Gypsies, and Jews.
7. LANGUAGES: Both Czech and Slovak recognized as official; considerable similarity exists between them. Differences greatest in the spoken dialects that reflect German, Hungarian, and Polish influences in many regional districts.
8. LABOR: Overall labor force about 7 million; inadequate in quantity and quality largely as result of war losses, emigration, and declining birth rate. Additions to labor force declining and decrease in working-age population anticipated after 1980. In

1969, 87 percent of working-age population gainfully employed; 46 percent of these were women.

9. RELIGION: Predominantly Roman Catholic; Czechoslovak National Church second largest denomination, with up to 750,000 members. Religious freedom guaranteed by Constitution but restricted in practice since 1948.

10. EDUCATION: Compulsory school attendance from ages seven to fifteen. Preschool classes emphasized, as is vocational training. Political indoctrination part of curriculum, and political reliability an important qualification for higher education. Scientific and technical subjects stressed above elementary level.

11. HEALTH: Incidence of many major contagious diseases minimized by traditionally high health and sanitation standards. Principal causes of death include heart attacks, cancer, accidents, suicides, and respiratory ailments. Life expectancy high in late 1960s, ranging from 67.4 years for males to 73.7 years for females.

12. JUSTICE: Four-level court system (local, district, regional, Supreme Court) ostensibly independent but actually serves as instrument of party. Military courts integral part of system.

13. ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS: Two constituent republics subdivided into 10 regions, 108 districts, and several thousand municipal and local units. Prague is an independent regional unit with 10 districts. Local government administered by national committees, but overall policy controlled by party at all levels.

14. ECONOMY: Centrally controlled and managed. Reforms toward a market economy attempted after severe depression of early 1960s, reversed after Soviet military intervention in 1968. Hindered by lack of raw materials and inadequate labor force.

15. INDUSTRY: Retarded by excessive emphasis on heavy industrial production and isolation from Western industrial markets. Manufactures account for 90 percent of output; capital goods predominate.

16. AGRICULTURE: Farm output inadequate; only 80 percent of basic food consumption supplied domestically. Principal shortages in meat, dairy products, fruits, and vegetables. Lack of modern equipment and individual incentives has adversely affected operation of collective farms, which account for most of agricultural output.

17. FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS: Principal trading partners are Soviet Union and the countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON). Except for 1968, overall trade balance positive from 1960 to 1970, but deficits with Western countries existed during entire period. Main imports include raw materials, fuel, machine tools, and industrial equip-

ment. Exports consist mainly of metalworking equipment, industrial machinery, and consumer goods.

18. FINANCE: Unit is the nonconvertible koruna (Kc). Officially rated at Kc1 per US\$0.14; actually several exchange rates exist for different transactions, such as foreign trade, official purchases of hard currencies, and tourist exchanges. State Bank is central authority for currency and credit control.

19. COMMUNICATIONS: All information media owned by government and operated under party control. Press and radio more extensively developed than television, but all used for propaganda and indoctrination purposes.

20. RAILROADS: Over 9,100 miles of track, of which about 8,000 miles in use in 1971. About 20 percent of lines double tracked and 15 percent electrified.

21. HIGHWAYS: Of 45,000-mile network, half is hard surfaced, including 5,500 miles of primary trunklines. Remainder topped with gravel, crushed stone, or compacted earth.

22. INLAND WATERWAYS: River systems are not linked by canals and are of minor importance. Elbe, Vltava, and Danube rivers provide about 500 miles of navigable channels, which carry only 1 percent of country's freight.

23. PIPELINES: Pipeline mileage nearly one-half that of operating railroads. Used extensively for transport of inflammable liquids from Soviet Union and locally produced gas.

24. AIRWAYS: Czechoslovak Airlines provides all internal commercial service and, with eleven foreign carriers, links Prague with nearly all European and major overseas capitals.

25. ARMED FORCES: All ground and air forces, as well as frontier and internal guard units integrated within the National People's Army, with an overall strength of between 175,000 and 200,000. Six or seven Soviet divisions, numbering between 60,000 and 80,000, have been stationed in country since military invasion of 1968.

26. SECURITY: Regular and specialized police forces operate under federal Ministry of the Interior, including the National Security Corps and, in emergencies, civil defense and people's militia units. Smaller state security police also exist within ministry for covert operations.

27. INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS: Member of the United Nations (UN) and a number of its specialized agencies. Member of the East European communist military alliance known as the Warsaw Pact. Member of COMECON, an economic alliance of communist states.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

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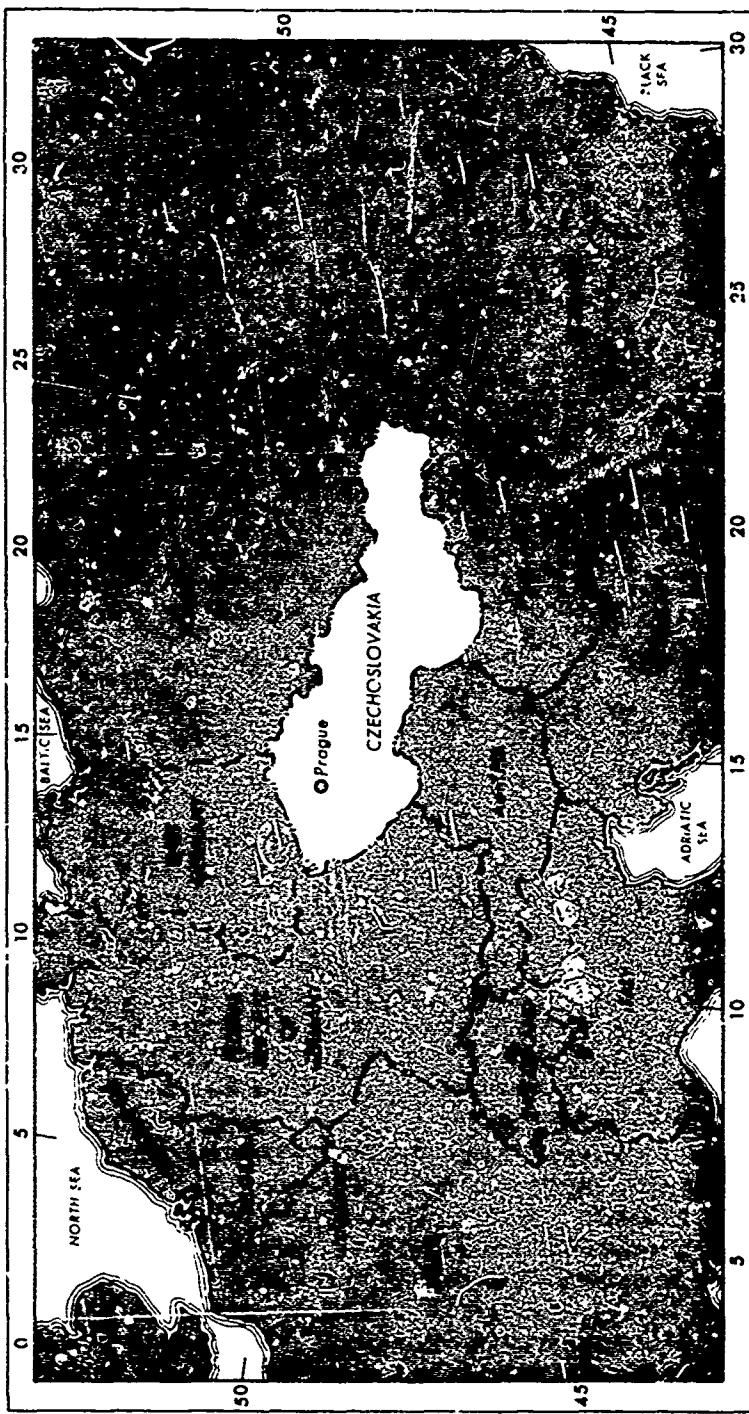


Figure 1. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

CHAPTER 1

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, usually referred to as Czechoslovakia, is a landlocked, central European country of 49,371 square miles with an estimated population in mid-1971 of approximately 14.5 million people. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (Komunisticka Strana Ceskoslovenska—KSC) has wielded absolute power since taking over the country by means of a bloodless coup d'état in February 1948. The government, with the support of the Soviet Union and the presence of several divisors of Soviet troops garrisoned within the country, appeared to be stable in 1971.

The history of Czechoslovakia as a European state dates only from 1918, but the history of the Czechs and Slovaks as occupants of the historic provinces of Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia dates from about the fifth century A.D. The modern Czechs and Slovaks are descended from Slavic tribes that moved westward among the mass migrations of peoples during the early Christian Era. Czech settlements in Bohemia marked the westernmost penetration of Slavs in Europe. Although they had been subjugated by more powerful neighbors for many centuries before independence came in 1918, the Czechoslovaks proudly record in their history earlier periods of national independence and international prominence.

Hailed as a bastion of democracy in central Europe after its creation in 1918, the new state of Czechoslovakia suffered from some serious social problems. Under Austrian control the Czechs had enjoyed much autonomy that had not been permitted the Slovaks under Hungarian domination and, as a consequence, the Czechs were more advanced in their political, economic, and social development. When they were united in a single state, the Slovaks complained that the Czechs were assuming too much power and control. In addition, several sizable ethnic minority groups had been included within the country's borders, and frictions developed rapidly. The leadership of the new republic under President Thomas G. Masaryk, however, was confident that harmonious relations between different groups would accompany growth and prosperity. The country prospered in the early years and gained renown for its industrial production; it struggled with its ethnic problems and managed to maintain a reputation for freedom and democratic processes (see ch. 3, Historical Setting).

At about the time of its twentieth anniversary as a state, serious threats to Czechoslovakia's sovereignty appeared in the form of territorial claims by Nazi Germany's dictator, Adolf Hitler. At a conference to which it was not even invited, Czechoslovakia's fate was decided when Great Britain and France, in an effort to maintain peace, capitulated to Hitler's demands. At the time, Hitler demanded and received the so-called Sudetenland that part of the Bohemian and Moravian borderland that contained a large German population; within six months the Nazis had dismembered and occupied all of Czechoslovakia.

After the defeat of the Nazis in 1945 the republic was reestablished with a coalition government that included several KSC members controlling key ministries, such as defense, information, interior, and agriculture. By controlling the armed elements of the population—military and police—the Communists were able to use force in pursuit of their goals as well as to prevent groupings of armed elements against themselves. With the Ministry of Information in their hands they were able to keep their own story constantly in front of the people and, at times, were able to restrict the publication or broadcasting of material that did not suit their purposes. The Ministry of Agriculture was important at the time because it directed the land redistribution after the expulsion of the German minority, and the prestige of the KSC increased among those peasants who received grants of land.

By 1946 the KSC was the largest party in the country and won 38 percent of the popular vote in the parliamentary elections of that year. Its nearest competitor won only 18 percent, and the remainder of the vote was spread among several other parties. In coalition with a small, Marxist-oriented, noncommunist party that had secured almost 13 percent of the vote, the KSC commanded an absolute majority in the National Assembly and, with it, secured the premiership. By working within the government, the Communists gained sufficient power to overthrow it in February 1948, less than three years after the reestablishment of the legitimate republic.

Czechoslovakia's new leaders quickly imposed a rigid, totalitarian regime. Nationalization of major industries had been initiated by the coalition government as early as 1945, but after the coup d'etat nationalization was widened to include all industries, and the basis for the eventual collectivization of agriculture was established. President Edward Benes was not ousted immediately but, as the Communists became more powerful, his position became untenable. By May 1948 Benes was forced to resign and was replaced by Klement Gottwald, who had been the leader of the KSC for almost two decades. With Gottwald's accession to the top government post, the communist hold on the country was complete.

In power, the KSC sought to communize or, more aptly, to Sovietize the entire spectrum of Czechoslovak life. Starting from a base that differed from that of every other country under communist rule, in that Czechoslovakia already had an industrially advanced economy and had experienced democratic processes of government, the party, in imitation of its Soviet counterpart, instituted strict controls over the economy, the society, and the politics of the entire country.

In the economic field, extreme emphasis was placed on the accelerated development of heavy industry to the detriment of the remainder of the economy. Whereas the pre-World War II period had seen the development of a fairly well balanced economy with the import of raw materials and the export of light industrial products and selected agricultural crops, the early communist emphasis on heavy industry introduced an imbalance from which the economy has never fully recovered. The regime's complete direction of the economic system, with its stress on central planning and the quota system, degraded the economy to the point where Czechoslovak products were no longer competitive on world markets. Lack of incentives and shortages of consumer goods lowered worker morale to a dangerous level.

In the social sphere, all aspects of cultural development were regulated to ensure the achievement of party goals—that is, to direct all efforts toward the construction of a socialist society. Education became a state monopoly; religions functioned in a tenuous atmosphere; and artists, writers, and journalists conformed to state directives if they wanted their work to be exhibited or published. Dissent was rife but muted. In its drive to create what it called a classless society, the party destroyed the former upper and middle classes but replaced them with a three-tiered structure. The party elite formed the new upper class; members of the bureaucracy, technocrats, and working intellectuals formed the middle layer; and, as before, the great mass of workers and peasants occupied the bottom of the pyramidal structure (see ch. 4, The Social Setting).

In the realm of politics, every vestige of opposition, criticism, or divergence from the party line was to be eliminated. The party hierarchy monopolized political action. Other parties were allowed to exist, but these were subsidiaries, not competitors. Interest groups, or mass organizations as they are called (labor unions, youth organizations, women's leagues and athletic societies), existed to further the aims of the party rather than to exert influence on it. The subsidiary parties and the mass organizations were instruments of control as well as means by which the party could remain in touch with the people (see ch. 7, Political Dynamics and Values).

Throughout the 1950s Czechoslovakia, in outward appearance, was the most acquiescent of the Soviet client states. It was docile in its

role as satellite, belligerent in its condemnation of "Western imperialism," and rigid in its imposition of so-called socialist morality on its own population. There were strikes in some industrial cities in 1953 as workers chafed under conditions of inflation, shortages of consumer goods, and low wages. At the same time forced collectivization of agriculture caused widespread dissatisfaction among peasants. Worker and peasant unrest, however, did not cause the regime to relent at all, as it continued to maintain a hardline ideological approach to all the country's problems.

The historic condemnation of Josef Stalin by Nikita Khrushchev in 1956 did not evoke serious repercussions in Czechoslovakia as it had in the neighboring communist states of Poland and Hungary. There was no emulation of the Polish riots or the Hungarian rebellion, as the tough Czechoslovak regime managed to maintain an aura of dogmatism and even kept its people relatively unenlightened about events that transpired across their borders. Some writers and intellectuals spoke out boldly about the events of 1956, but the regime quickly stifled open dissent and maintained its Stalinist grip for the remainder of the decade, despite the de-Stalinization campaigns in the other communist states.

The high point of dogmatism came with the promulgation of the 1960 Constitution, which was more Stalinist than the one it superseded. Party First Secretary Antonin Novotny declared that the country had achieved socialism and was ready to proceed on the path toward communism. The official name of the state was changed to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Proclamations, speeches, and the new Constitution, however, could not hide the fact that Czechoslovakia was a troubled country in the early 1960s. Writers and journalists were joined by students as they openly voiced disapproval of existing conditions and the regime policies that fostered them. Workers staged protest demonstrations, but Novotny, using carrot and stick techniques, was able to keep his regime in power.

Stagnation of the economy increased the impetus for economic reform, which mounted steadily until January 1965, when the KSC Central Committee approved a set of principles that became known as the New Economic Model. Opposition to the reform was widespread. Party dogmatists feared the political and social changes that would be inevitable if the New Economic Model were fully implemented. Workers feared the possible loss of jobs that would result from elimination of uneconomical and inefficient enterprises, while managers and supervisors, many of whom were political appointees, feared the loss of their positions to better qualified personnel (see ch. 10, Character and Structure of the Economy).

The implementation of the New Economic Model, hampered from the start by powerful opponents including Novotny, served to split the party into conservative (antireform) and liberal (proreform)

elements. Ultimately the conservative forces were victorious, and the economic reform foundered, but in the process Ncvtyn was deposed and replaced as KSC first secretary by Alexander Dubcek, the first Slovak to hold that position. Dubcek received unprecedented popular support during his brief tenure as leader of the KSC.

As feared by party dogmatists, the economic reforms, even in their watered-down form, had opened the floodgates to political and social reforms. Dubcek, whose communist credentials were impeccable, averred from the beginning that his goal was reform, not revolt. In his words, he wanted the country to have a system of "socialism with a human face." The people welcomed the lifting of restrictions and gave vent to expressions of freedom that had been suppressed for twenty years.

The abolishment of censorship brought a flood of articles and publications that were highly critical of the system and of the previous communist regimes. The tenor of much that was said and printed verged on condemnation of everything that had gone before, and a particular target was the relationship that existed between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. Recognizing the danger in taunting the Kremlin, Dubcek pleaded with his people to "be aware of the time we live in." He attempted to brake the runaway media, but the momentum was too strong, as journalists, writers, and broadcasters continued to comment on every public matter in a manner that had been impossible for two decades and that was considered disloyal and antisocialist by the Soviets.

Soviet leaders traveled to Czechoslovakia to express their disapproval and to warn Dubcek of the dangers of carrying freedoms too far. Other Warsaw Pact leaders, worrying about the spread to their own countries of what they called the Czechoslovak heresy, also admonished Dubcek. The so-called Prague Spring ended during the night of August 20, 1968, when troops of the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, East Germany, Hungary, and Poland entered Czechoslovakia in overwhelming numbers in a blitzkrieg-like invasion. The attempt to democratize Czechoslovak socialism thus ended in failure chiefly because of external rather than internal forces, leaving Czechoslovak as well as foreign observers wondering what might have happened if the experiment had been allowed sufficient time.

Dubcek remained in office until the following spring but only at the sufferance of the Soviet leadership. To all intents and purposes the reform movement had ended with the Soviet invasion. Ironically, the freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of assembly enjoyed during the brief Prague Spring were all guaranteed under the Constitution but were circumscribed before the reform movement and have been again since the invasion.

The people of Czechoslovakia staged a massive protest against the foreign occupation but, having been implored by their popular leaders

to forego armed resistance, they adopted passive means to frustrate the invaders. The people united behind the Dubcek leadership and, for the first time, the KSC achieved a favorable consensus among the general public. Dubcek and several of his close associates had been taken to Moscow under arrest but, with almost nationwide support being vociferously demonstrated, they were released and returned to Czechoslovakia to reassume their posts. Over the next few months, however, pressure from the Soviet Union and from KSC conservatives became impossible to withstand, and the Dubcek reform regime finally fell in April 1969.

The situation in 1971 reflected the results of the so-called normalization program demanded by the Soviets. Gustav Husak, Soviet-approved successor to Dubcek as head of the KSC, reported to the Fourteenth Party Congress in May 1971 that normalization had been achieved. Husak said that the "onslaught of counterrevolutionary forces was warded off and the socialist system was successfully defended." He also referred to his reform-minded predecessors as "rightist-opportunist, revisionist, and antisocialist forces." Thus the liberalization movement was dismissed with a few epithets, and Dubcek's socialism with a human face was denounced as antisocialist. Husak then thanked the Soviet Union for invading his country, speaking of it as a rescue operation. The reaction of the Czechoslovak man-in-the-street to Husak's speech was not reported in the press.

The meaning behind the jargon used by Husak was clear to all his listeners, Czechoslovaks and visiting Communists alike. He was stating that his country was back on a Marxist-Leninist course and that, since his accession to the top party post in April 1969, normalization had been successfully implemented. The events of the Prague Spring had been expunged from the record and discarded as an aberration of the true communist faith. The amazing degree of popular support enjoyed by Dubcek, however, had not been transferred to Husak, as Czechs and Slovaks withdrew into their own personal lives and displayed apathy toward public affairs.

The economy, the stagnation of which had given impetus to the reform program, seemed in 1971 to have all the problems that had plagued it since World War II. The New Economic Model had been all but abandoned, and a definite return to centralized control and planning was obvious. A new five-year plan for the period 1971-75 had been announced, but the planners appeared to have difficulty in finding the most efficient economic course while adhering to the mandatory ideological tenets.

The economy functions by direction of several ministries at the federal and republic levels of government, but economic policymaking is a prerogative of the highest levels of the KSC. Most ministers are party members, and the KSC Central Committee has departments

corresponding to and overseeing the work of the ministries. Thus party control and direction of the economy are assured. The actual condition of the economy in the second half of 1971 was difficult to determine because meaningful statistics and information were not available in the West.

Social conditions in the country seemed to have stabilized after the brief period of liberalization. The longstanding problems between the closely related Czechs and Slovaks, if not solved, were at least muted. The creation of a federal structure—one of the reforms that was not emasculated—established the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic within the framework of the overall Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. This was designed to give greater autonomy to the Slovaks and diminish their complaints about Czech dominance in the state structure. De facto recentralization under Husak has diluted the effects of federalization, but some autonomous features remain. Ethnic minorities constituted less than 6 percent of the total population—mostly Hungarians, Germans, and Ukrainians—and these groups did not display evidence of unrest in 1971.

Organized religion in Czechoslovakia, as in other communist countries, has been subject to the stresses and strains of church-state relations dominated by an officially atheist government. The state does not allow publication of statistics concerning church membership, but attendance at religious services has been reported by visitors as being high, considering more than twenty years of antireligious propaganda and indoctrination. Most Czechoslovaks declare themselves to be Roman Catholics, but Protestantism is also important in the country, its roots predating the Lutheran Reformation by a century or more. Several Protestant denominations are permitted to function and have congregations varying in size from a few thousand communicants to several hundred thousand (see ch. 5, Cultural Development).

Religious freedom is constitutionally guaranteed, but the practice of religion has been circumscribed by the government since the communist takeover in 1948. All church property belongs to the state; religious matters are regulated by the State Office for Church Affairs; clerics have been made civil servants; and churches are not allowed to operate schools. During the liberalization period in 1968 churches regained many of their purely religious prerogatives, and many clerics were released from prison and allowed to return to their church duties. During the so-called normalization period after April 1969 control was reimposed, and the government increased its output of atheist propaganda. Despite restraints, young and old alike were attending church services, and many young people were being married in church and having their children christened rather than satisfying themselves with the civil ceremonies preferred by the government.

Education is important to the people as well as to the regime. Enrollment at all levels has remained high, and parents have been eager to have their children progress as far as possible in the school system. Under the Communists the goals of education have been twofold: to train specialists and to indoctrinate young people in the official ideology. Much of the support for the liberalization program came from young people and their teachers, which was a blow to the conservative elements that had controlled education for over twenty years. In the aftermath of the reforms many teachers were fired, and a great many more were reassigned in a nationwide effort to shake up the system. New educational directives issued in 1970 and 1971, however, merely reiterated the same twofold goals that seemed to have been discredited earlier. Political loyalty again became the single most important criterion in determining how far a student should progress in the educational system (see ch. 5, Cultural Development).

In the cultural area there was a burst of creativity during the Dubcek era. The lifting of censorship was a signal to writers and artists to give vent to ideas that had been suppressed for many years. The free rein in art and literature and, particularly, in journalism, television, and films was one of the main causes of the Soviet reaction. The freedom was short lived, however, and censorship was reimposed after the 1968 invasion. Creativity in artistic and intellectual expression seemed to be at a low ebb in 1971.

Czechoslovak armed forces are committed to the multinational alliance known as the Warsaw Pact, the same organization whose armies invaded their homeland in 1968. Approximately 175,000 to 200,000 men are maintained on active duty, the great bulk of them serving with the ground forces. Organizational structure generally follows the Soviet pattern, with ground, air, and frontier and interior guard troops all administered by the Ministry of National Defense.

Morale problems in the armed forces since the 1968 invasion have been admitted by military leaders, who also complain that young Czechoslovaks have been reluctant to fulfill their military obligations. A concerted effort has been made to deal with problems and develop the armed forces to a position of unquestioned loyalty and reliability (see ch. 13, Armed Forces).

CHAPTER 2

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT AND POPULATION

Czechoslovakia is often considered the most central of the European nations, in regard to its location, climate, drainage, and vegetation. It measures about 500 miles east to west, varies in width from about 60 to 175 miles, and covers an area of 49,371 square miles. The country borders the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) on the northwest, Poland to the north, the Soviet Union to the east, Hungary and Austria to the south, and the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) to the southwest. It is almost equidistant from the North Sea in the northwest to the Black Sea in the southeast, and from the Baltic and Adriatic seas to its north and south, respectively (see fig. 1).

In mid-1971 its population was an estimated 14.5 million, about 65 percent Czech and 30 percent Slovak, the remainder being various ethnic minorities. Czechs and Slovaks are both Slavic peoples but differ in social, political, and economic development—the differences resulting from historical circumstances and, to a lesser degree, from variations in terrain and natural resources.

Although Czechoslovakia is a small country, it exhibits an unusual variety of physical and climatic features. Western regions are a part of the landmass common to areas west and north of the country. They drain to the northwest by way of the Elbe River and are frequently under the influence of the maritime weather systems that predominate over western Europe. Eastern portions of the country are Carpathian mountain and Danube basin lands and usually experience the continental climate that is typical of eastern Europe and the western part of the Soviet Union.

The effects of the land on its human population, and of the people on the land, also show wide variations. In the west forests are controlled to produce timber crops, lowlands are farmed over wide expanses, and northern sections are extensively industrialized. In the east, natural forests are exploited. Subsistence farming has been the rule over much of the area, and industrialization has not yet assumed the proportions characteristic of western regions.

The western regions developed an industrial base early because fuel and metallic resources were readily available. Except for the fuels, however, the resources were not plentiful, and a large portion of those that were easy to exploit have been exhausted. Nevertheless, the well

developed industrial economy continued to flourish on imported raw materials.

About one-third of the land is forest, about 14 percent is meadow or pasture, approximately 42 percent is cultivated, and the remainder of the land is unsuitable for or is not used in agricultural production. Occasionally, seasons are so dry that agricultural production suffers, but precipitation is usually adequate and, in some districts where soils are fertile, crop yields are among the highest in Europe.

The country is divided administratively into Czech and Slovak republics. The Czech Socialist Republic, constituting the western three-fifths of the country, is subdivided into seven regions; and the Slovak Socialist Republic, into three. The regions are subdivided into districts and the districts into localities—the lowest level administrative units in the country. The major cities are administered separately as individual regions.

Transportation systems serve the country adequately. The railroads carry most of the long-distance freight and passenger traffic. The road system is extensive, but as motor vehicles have become more numerous, road maintenance has not kept pace with the traffic. Buses, trucks, and privately owned motor vehicles have largely supplanted railroads as carriers of local cargo and passengers.

GENERAL SETTING

The country divides topographically into three parts (see fig. 2). Bohemia, in the west, is a natural geographic basin. It includes a radiating pattern of streams—all tributaries of the Elbe River—that flow inward toward Prague from the mountains or higher lands that ring the area. The uplands of Bohemia are part of western European mountain systems wherein natural transportation routes orient the area and its inhabitants with the western part of the continent.

Slovakia, constituting the eastern two-fifths of the country, has areas of rich land, but more of it is mountainous. Although the terrain poses no insurmountable obstacles to communications, it is somewhat more difficult than that of the areas that surround it, and its people have remained in comparative isolation. The climate and vegetation are eastern European. Most of its rivers drain south to the Danube; the minor streams that flow north become part of the drainage system that reaches the Baltic Sea at Gdansk in Poland.

Moravia is an area of transition between the Bohemian and Slovak regions. A considerable portion of it is hilly, but its valleys provide the best avenues for north-south communication through central Europe.

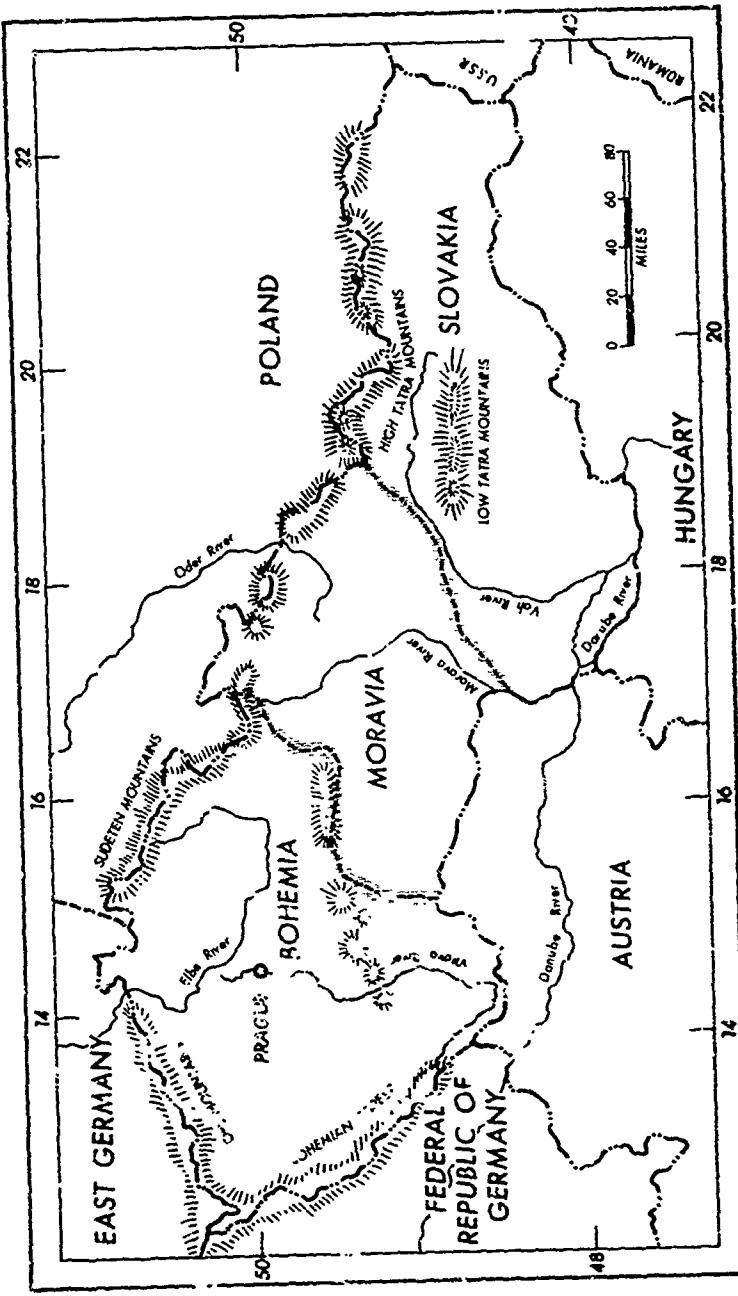


Figure 2. Topography of Czechoslovakia

NATURAL FEATURES AND RESOURCES

Topography

The areas of the western Czech republic and the eastern Slovak republic are portions of different mountain and different drainage systems. All but a minute fraction of the Bohemian regions drain to the North Sea by way of the Elbe River. The hills and low mountains that enclose the area are part of the north-central European uplands that are north of the Danube basin and extend from southern Belgium, through the central German lands, and into the Moravian regions of Czechoslovakia. These uplands, which are distinct from the Alps to the south and the Carpathians to the east, are known geologically as the Hercynian massif. Most of the Slovak area drains into the Danube River, and its mountains are part of the Carpathian range that continues eastward and southward into Romania.

The uplands of Moravia are a transition between the Hercynian massif and the Carpathians and contrast with them in having more nearly north-south ridge lines. Most of Moravia drains southward to the Danube, but the Oder (Odra) River rises in its northeast area and drains a sizable portion of the northern region.

Bohemia

Bohemia has a distinct individuality that derives in large measure from its topography. It is ringed with low mountains or high hills that, although less confined to the immediate border area along the southern and southeastern sides, are sufficient to serve as a watershed along almost the entire periphery. Streams flow from all directions toward Prague. These features have fostered an area solidarity and a common set of economic interests.

The Ore Mountains (Krusne Hory), in the northwest, border on East Germany and are known to the Germans as the Erzgebirge; the Sudeten Mountains, in the northeast, border on Poland in the area that was a part of Germany before World War II. Germans outnumbered Czechs in both of these localities before they were relocated after 1945. The large German population was accounted for, in part, by the fact that the hills—particularly those of the Ore Mountains—were more gentle in the north, promoting German movement into the area, whereas the rugged escarpment in the south inhibited Czech movement outward.

The so-called Bohemian Forest (Cesky les), bordering on West Germany, and the Sumava, bordering on West Germany and Austria, are mountain ranges that form the western and southwestern parts of the ring around the Bohemian basin, and both are about as high as the Ore Mountains in the northwest. Bohemia's mountainous areas differ greatly in population. The northern regions are densely populated,

whereas the less hospitable Bohemian Forest and Sumava are among the most sparsely populated areas in the entire country.

The middle lands of the basin are lower but their features vary widely. There are small lake regions in the middle south region and in the Vltava basin north of Prague. Some of the western grainlands are gently rolling. By contrast, other places have streams, such as the Vltava River, that have cut deep gorges. This has given a large area southwest of Prague a broken relief pattern, which is typical of several other districts.

Slovakia

Slovakia's landforms do not make it a distinctive geographic unit as is the case in Bohemia. Its mountains reach elevations of some 3,000 feet, but they run generally east-west across the land; their various ranges tend to segregate groups of people. Population clusters are most dense in the river valleys; the highest elevations are rugged, have the most severe weather, and are the most sparsely settled. Some of the flatlands in southern Slovakia are poorly drained and support only a few people.

The main mountain ranges are the High and Low Tatras (Vysoké Tatry and Nízke Tatry, respectively), both of which are part of the Carpathians. The High Tatras extend in a narrow ridge along the Polish border and are attractive as a summer resort area. The highest peak in the country, Gerlachovka, which has an elevation of 8,737 feet, is in this ridge. Snow persists at the higher elevations well into the summer months and all year long in some sheltered pockets. The tree line is at about 5,000 feet. An icecap extended into this area during glacial times, leaving pockets that have become mountain lakes.

The Low Tatras are formed of the same crystalline rock varieties, but less of the rock is exposed at the lower elevations, and these mountains are less spectacular than the High Tatras. They run generally east-west, south of, and parallel to, the High Tatras, occupying a somewhat larger area. The space between the Tatra ranges and their interior foothills is usually thought to be the heartland of Slovakia, containing the most characteristic Slovak people in a traditional rural setting.

The Slovakian lowlands in the south and southeast that border on Hungary and contain substantial Magyar populations are part of the greater Danube basin. From a point a few miles south of the Slovakian capital of Bratislava, the main channel of the Danube River demarcates the border between Czechoslovakia and Hungary for 110 miles. As it leaves Bratislava the Danube divides into two channels, the main channel being the Danube proper and the northern channel known as the Little Danube (Maly Dunaj). The Little Danube flows eastward to join the Vah River just north of Komarno, where the Vah converges with the main Danube. The land between the Little Danube

and the Danube is known as the Great Rye Island (Velky Zitny Ostrov), a marshland maintained for centuries as a hunting preserve for the nobility. Dikes and artificial drainage have made the land cultivable for grain production. It is still sparsely settled and predominantly Magyar.

Moravia

Moravia is a topographic borderland situated between Bohemia and Slovakia. Its southwest to northeast ridge lines and lower elevations made it useful for communication and commercial routes from Vienna to the north and northeast during the periods when Austria was dominant in central Europe.

Central and southern Moravian lowlands are part of the Danube basin, similar to the lowlands they join in southern Slovakia. The upland areas are smaller and more broken than those of Bohemia and Slovakia. The northwest hills are soft sandstone and are cut by deep gorges. South of them, but north of Brno, is a karst limestone area with underground streams and caves. These and the other uplands west of the Morava River are associated with the Hercynian massif. To the east of the river, the land is called Carpathian Moravia. The lower foothills of the Carpathians are less scenic and more monotonous than the Tatra ranges in Slovakia or than the uplands in northern Moravia.

Drainage

All of Bohemia, except for a minuscule area in the extreme southeast, drains into the Elbe River system, emptying into the North Sea after flowing northwestward across East Germany and West Germany. By far the greater part of Moravia and Slovakia drain to the Danube system and southeastward to the Black Sea. The Oder River, which flows northward along a part of the East German-Polish border to the Baltic Sea, rises in northern Moravia and drains a portion of that region. Farther to the east, rising in the High Tatras of Slovakia, the Poprad River, a tributary of the Vistula, drains another small area. It flows across central Poland, emptying into the Baltic Sea at Gdansk.

Because many major tributaries and a few important rivers rise in the country and because they radiate from it in several directions, Czechoslovakia is a watershed. A few streams, particularly those in the southern lowlands of Slovakia and a few in central Bohemia, meander slowly and aimlessly across hard-to-drain, marshy land. Most of the rivers, however, flow rather rapidly.

Lake areas provide natural checks to seasonal runoff in only a few places; melting snow and ice release their accumulated moisture in the spring; and remaining forests are not sufficient to reduce the

sudden escape of the water. As a consequence, the rivers and streams are usually violent in March or April and have less flow than is desirable in summer and autumn. Icing conditions, rapid currents, dense and persistent fogs, and irregular flow rates have restricted the streams' navigability. Seasonal flow irregularity and winter ice discouraged hydroelectric development for many years, especially as fossil fuels have been cheap and plentiful.

The part of the Elbe River system within Bohemia is in large measure responsible for the coherence of the area and is remarkable in the way that its many streams converge inward from all sides toward the vicinity of Prague. The Elbe itself rises near the northeast border of the country in the Sudeten Mountains. It flows south to a point east of the city, turns westward toward it, then curves to the northwest, joining the Vltava River at Melnik about fifteen miles north of Prague.

The Vltava, at its junction with the Elbe, is by far the greater stream. It rises in the Bohemian Forest and, as it flows from the southernmost border to Prague, it is joined by tributary streams that drain the entire western, southern, and southeastern regions. The Elbe also collects water from the Ohre River as well as several smaller mountain streams so that when it enters East Germany, it is a major waterway.

The Danube is a great river when it first approaches the country near Bratislava, thirty-five miles east of Vienna. Arriving at Bratislava it is a regular stream, carrying only about twice as much water in its maximum month as in its minimum. It is less regular upon leaving Slovakia, however, because it is, on the average, nearly 50 percent larger.

The four-fifths of Moravia that drains to the Danube does so by way of the Morava River and its tributaries. The Morava rises in the extreme northwestern upland area and, as it flows southward, collects all Moravian streams except the Oder River. The Morava forms a part of the border with Austria before it joins the Danube near Bratislava.

The Vah, Nitra, Hron, and Ipel rivers drain western Slovakia, flowing generally southward from the High and Low Tatra mountains. The eastern region contains the Poprad River, the only major Slovak stream that drains to the north. All of the other major streams in eastern Slovakia drain to the south into Hungary to join the Tisza, which flows into the Danube below Budapest.

Climate

The country's central situation is illustrated in the variety of sources from which it derives its climate. Although continental weather systems prevail over the country, western regions are frequently under the influence of the maritime weather that

predominates over western Europe. Slovakia normally receives its weather from the continental systems that are dominant in eastern Europe. When the systems to the north are weak, Mediterranean weather may occasionally brush southern parts of the country.

Winters are typically fairly cold, cloudy, and humid. High humidity and cloud cover tend to be more prevalent in valleys and lower areas. At higher elevations, winters are colder, brighter, and less humid. Light rain or snow is frequent. The mountains are snow covered from early November through April, and accumulations are deep in some places. Lower elevations rarely have more than six inches of snow cover at a time.

Summers are frequently pleasant seasons. More rain falls, but it comes in heavy showers so that there are many warm, dry days with scattered cumulus clouds. Prevailing winds are westerly; they are usually light in the summer, except when there are thunderstorms, and somewhat stronger in the winter.

Average temperatures in Prague range between about 29°F. in January and about 66°F. in July. The average temperature range during the day is low in winter, but summers have warm afternoons and cool evenings. Prague is representative of lowland cities in Bohemia and Moravia, but temperature extremes are greater in eastern parts of the country. Higher elevations, especially those with western exposures, usually have a smaller temperature range but on the average are considerably cooler.

December, January, and February are the coldest months; June, July, and August are the warmest. Spring tends to start late, and autumn may come abruptly in middle or late September. At lower elevations, even in Slovakia, frosts are rare between the end of April and the first of October.

Rainfall averages about twenty-eight inches over the country but varies widely between the plains and upland areas. Parts of western Bohemia receive only sixteen inches; some areas in the High Tatras average eighty inches. The average in the vicinity of Prague is nineteen inches. Precipitation is less dependable than in other areas of Europe that are dominated more of the time by maritime weather systems, and droughts sometimes occur.

Despite the great frequency of precipitation during the winter months, only about 15 percent of the total falls during that season. More than twice as much, or about 38 percent, falls in the summer. Spring and autumn figures are about equal. On the average, about 24 percent of the annual total precipitation falls in the springtime; 23 percent, in the autumn.

Soils

The best soils in the country are the dark-brown and black chernozem. The largest chernozem area in Bohemia is roughly centered on Prague and extends east and west of the city along the south side of the Elbe River valley. There is another large area in central Moravia and a third in southwestern Slovakia. Chernozem soils are rich in humus, and the best of them are formed on loess, which is itself a light, fine yellowish-brown loamy soil.

Areas of chernozem tend to be surrounded by only slightly less rich brown forest soils. In Bohemia the excellent soil zone includes nearly all of the northern one-third of the basin lowlands. Fingers of these soils about twenty miles wide extend southward along the Vltava valley and southwestward past Plzen in the Berounka River valley. In Moravia they add nearly all of the central and southern areas to the fertile zone. They rim the chernozem more irregularly in Slovakia, extending for long distances up the rivers, but are confined to the lower valley floors. Forest soils also extend in a large area from the mountain foothills to the southern border of the country in both the central and western regions of Slovakia.

Podzols—layered forest soils with an organic humus surface—extend from the brown forest soil areas to most of the remaining lowlands. The podzols are usually marginal to poor. They cover large portions of southern Bohemia and northern Moravia but, because they are confined to lower elevations, cover relatively small areas of Slovakia.

The quality of a soil can vary considerably within a group. Loess deposited on any of them makes a marked improvement. It has enriched several small areas of predominantly brown forest soil in northern Bohemia and north-central Moravia. The base rock from which the soil was formed may affect drainage. Flysch breaks down into dense clays that drain poorly and accounts for the marshes in south-central Bohemia and in many of the southwestern Bohemian and north and eastern Slovak uplands. Limestone, on the other hand, encourages small plant growth and continuation of the soil maturation process after the tree cover has been removed. It accounts for the many varieties of flowering plants in the Moravian and Slovak karst districts.

Other than those that do not drain, the poorest soils are the mountain types that ring Bohemia and cover nearly all of upland Slovakia. They are thin and infertile. There are small saline areas on Great Rye Island and on the lowlands to the east of it in southern Slovakia. Alluvium is deposited in the valleys of the Elbe and Morava and in several of the Slovakian river valleys. It is the dominant soil feature of a twenty-mile-square section of southeastern Slovakia. It

has, however, been deposited in small quantities, gradually enough to have become fertile as well as sandy and well drained.

Vegetation

The central location of Czechoslovakia shows clearly again in its vegetation. Western European, Mediterranean, and eastern European influences are apparent in the variety and distribution of plant life. Bohemia and northern Moravia exhibit more of the influences from western Europe and from the great plain of north-central Europe. The higher Slovak elevations have much of the alpine flora that is most prevalent in the Swiss, Italian, and French Alps. The lowlands of southern Moravia and Slovakia share flora with the remainder of the interior Danube basin. In eastern Slovakia there is what may be considered a plant frontier, with a marked change in vegetation along a geological faultline that runs north and south across eastern Slovakia, roughly through the cities of Presov and Kosice. To the east of this line, the eastern European steppe influence is much more apparent than it is elsewhere in the country.

Natural flora is most colorful in the karst areas of central Moravia and western Slovakia, where the soils are derived in part from limestone. Wild vegetation in most of the remainder of northern Moravia and Bohemia is also varied and interesting. The lower Carpathians and some southern regions are more monotonous.

Forests cover about one-third of the total land, but the proportion of wooded area is higher in Slovakia. Managed forests have largely supplanted virgin woodlands in Bohemia and Moravia and, because the deciduous hardwood harvest cycle is approximately 100 years and the faster growing conifers may be cut much more frequently, most of the western forests are now coniferous.

In the managed western forests about 90 percent of the trees are grown from seed. Norway spruce and Scotch pine are the most favored. Spruce makes good lumber and grows well on the poorest soils of the interior basin, as well as at higher elevations. White pine, Douglas pine, and Japanese larch have also been planted in fairly large quantities. Fewer numbers of American strains of several species have been planted experimentally, including red oak, walnut, chestnut, locust, and Lombardy poplar. Beech and oak forests have not been altogether eliminated and, with other miscellaneous deciduous types, account for almost one-third of the stand.

Slovak forests are approximately 50 percent deciduous. Beech predominates and accounts for nearly two-thirds of the deciduous trees. Oak requires less precipitation and humidity than beech and accounts for the largest part of the remaining one-third. Conifers do better at higher elevations, and spruce and pine varieties predominate in forests that are within about 1,000 feet of the tree line.

Mismanagement of Slovakia's forests has contributed to the irregularity of seasonal flow in its streams and to unnecessary soil erosion. For these reasons and to better exploit the forest resources, better management practices have been more widely employed since World War II.

More than 55 percent of the land is arable, and the ratio of arable land to population is among the highest in Europe. Moreover, in some areas soils are rich and efficiently farmed. Nevertheless, the climate is not suited to certain crops, some cultivated areas are devoted to export commodities, and large sections continue to be exploited at a subsistence level only. As a result, the country must import part of its food requirement.

Wildlife

The High Tatra Mountains shelter a considerable variety of wild animals, including wolves, bears, lynx, and wildcats, in the higher elevations. Wild boars, wild goats, and several different species of deer inhabit the forests; otters, mink, badgers, and marten occupy the valleys and streams. Most of these may be hunted in certain seasons. Hare, tortoises, snakes, lizards, frogs, and toads are also found. Chamois, near extinction for many years, have reappeared in small numbers. They live wild in the mountains but are protected by law, and their numbers are increasing. Mouflon, also dangerously close to extinction, are bred in game preserves. To cull the herds and reinstate survival instincts, occasional carefully regulated hunts are organized.

Game birds are found wherever there are forests or marshes. Pheasant, partridge, wild geese, and ducks are fairly abundant. Waterfowl are numerous in lake districts or marshlands in the southern part of the country, particularly along the Danube River in Slovakia. Most of the smaller European birds, as well as songbirds, are seen in the country. Larger species include eagles, eagle owls, vultures, osprey, and storks. Bustard and capercaillie are extremely rare and are protected.

Fishing is a popular sport. Official sources say that approximately 8,000 tons are taken from local lakes and streams annually, but little of it is sold commercially.

Natural Resources

The early industrialization and development of Czechoslovakia came about largely because the country contained accessible fuel resources and several metals to refine. Iron and coal were available in reasonably close proximity to each other in the Silesian area that is now northernmost Moravia, and that area became the first major industrial section. Having established a strong base, the industrial

economy expanded to less easily exploited areas and survived wars that almost totally disrupted it as well as nearly exhausting most of the industrially important metals.

Sources of energy are still abundant. Northern Moravia, the Sudeten Mountains, and two areas within the Bohemian basin have good quantities of hard coal. The Ore Mountains also have good quantities of lignite. On the other hand, there is little oil or natural gas anywhere in the country. Locally produced petroleum products provide considerably less than 5 percent of domestic consumption. Hydroelectric power sources are being developed, however, to supplement the fossil fuels; about thirty dams were built in Slovakia during the 1960s to harness the energy of its streams, and there is potential for considerably greater development.

Metallic minerals in mid-1971 were in short supply. With the exception of uranium, little of which can now be used locally, none were available in quantities required for local consumption. Four-fifths of the iron and steel produced in the country were made from imported ore. About three-fourths of the copper, two-thirds of the lead, and more than nine-tenths of the zinc consumed in the country during the late 1960s were imported.

Small deposits of tungsten, silver, and gold have been mined for many years. Official sources stated in 1970 that new iron, copper, mercury, gold, silver, and lead deposits had been located since World War II in Slovakia and that they were significantly stimulating the economy in that republic. It is not known whether they were available in quantities that would reduce the country's dependence on imported ores.

BOUNDARIES AND POLITICAL SUBDIVISIONS

Boundaries

With the exception of the southern border of Moravia and the southeastern border of Slovakia, all borders follow natural features. The Bohemian basin is ringed with distinctive uplands, as are most of northern Moravia and Slovakia. The borders adhere reasonably closely to watershed divides. The Danube River forms a portion of the southern boundary.

The total length of Czechoslovakia's frontier is 2,208 miles. In the northwest the border with East Germany is 269 miles long; in the north with Poland it is 865 miles; the eastern border with the Soviet Union is 61 miles; in the south with Hungary and Austria, 422 and 354 miles, respectively; and the southwestern border with West Germany is 237 miles. The only water boundaries are the 110-mile

portion along the Danube southeast of Bratislava and the 50-mile portion of the Morava as it flows into the Danube near Bratislava.

With the exception of the border with the Soviet Union, the 1971 boundaries were little different from those determined in the 1918-20 period. Areas annexed by Germany, Hungary, and Poland in 1938 and 1939 were restored in 1945. Ruthenia, which had been the easternmost region of Czechoslovakia, was ceded to the Soviet Union in 1945. All borders of the country are considered demarcated, and none are officially in dispute.

Political Subdivisions

When physical characteristics of the land are under consideration, the three geographic areas of the country—Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia—are used for area identification. Ethnically, the country is divided into Czech and Slovak areas, Moravia being linked with Bohemia because both populations are Czech. The Czech republic is often referred to as the Czech lands, Western Czechoslovakia, or the historic provinces. This ethnic division was adhered to when the country was divided by the communist regime into the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic.

In the Slovak Socialist Republic there are east, central, and west Slovak regions (Vychodoslovensky, Stredoslovensky, and Zapadoslovensky). The Czech Socialist Republic has seven regions. They include north and south Moravian regions (Severomoravsky and Jihomoravsky) and north, east, south, west, and central Czech regions that conform to the boundaries of Bohemia (Severo cesky, Vychodocesky, Jihocesky, Zapadocesky, and Stredocesky). The regions have average areas of only about 50 by 100 miles; districts average about one-tenth the size of the regions (see fig. 3).

POPULATION

The estimated population in 1971 was 14.5 million. This was an 0.8 million increase projected from the count arrived at in the census of 1961 and is figured from an estimated population growth rate of 0.7 percent annually. This rate is about average for eastern Europe and for Europe as a whole, although it was arrived at independently and the similarities are coincidences. To arrive at the growth rate, births per 1,000 of the population were estimated at 14.9; deaths, at 10.7; and infant mortality, at 22.1 deaths per 1,000 live births. Life expectancy is 67.5 years for males and 73.4 years for females. Projecting these statistics, the population in 1985 should be 16.2 million, and the population of the country should double in 100 years.

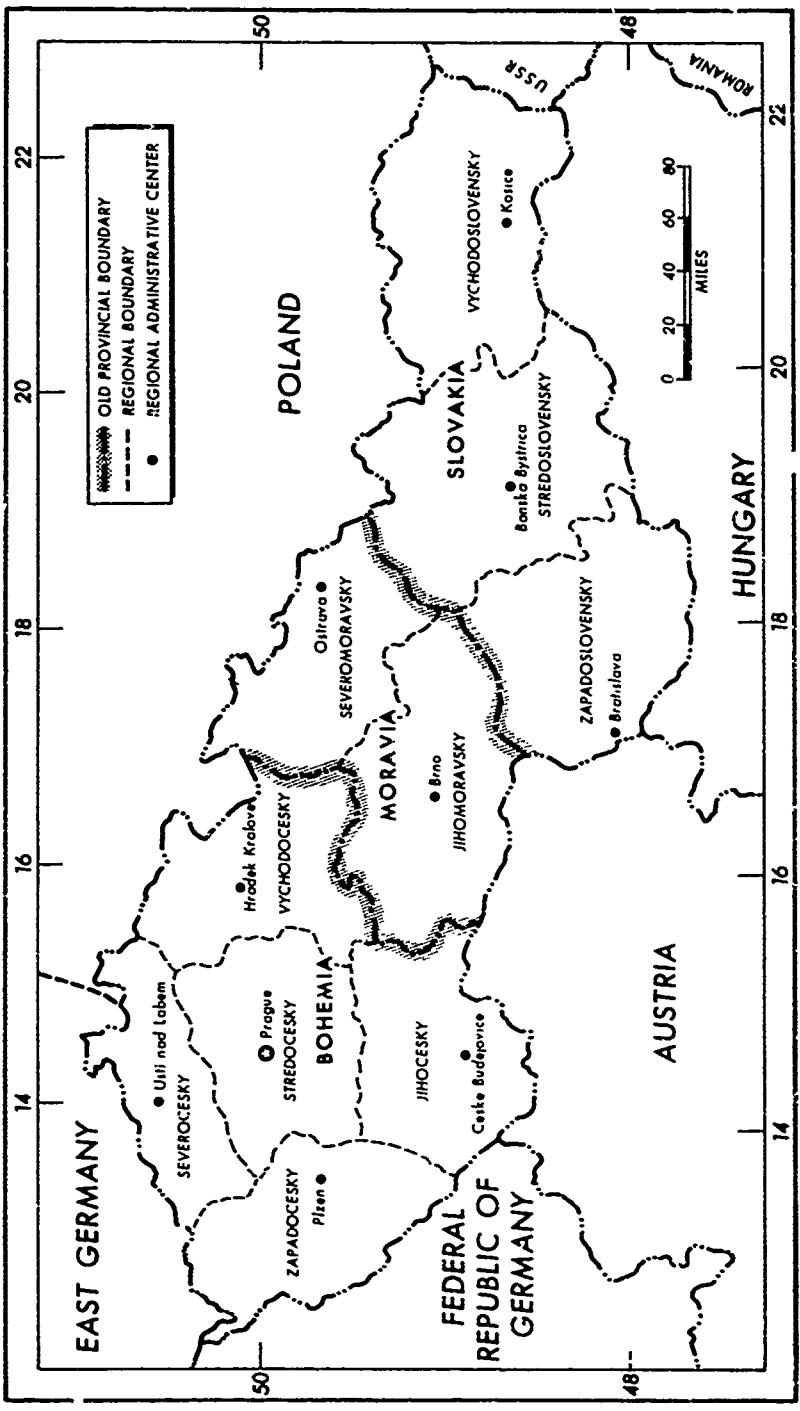


Figure 3. Political Subdivisions of Czechoslovakia, 1971

The rate of population growth is higher in Slovakia than in the Czech regions. Particularly in the west, it is held down by high divorce and abortion rates. During the mid-1960s there were nearly one-fifth as many divorces as marriages. The incidence of abortion was even more significant; in 1966, for example, more than 30 percent of pregnancies were terminated by abortion, despite government efforts that were initiated in 1963 to discourage the practice.

In the population as a whole, there were 105 females for each 100 males (see table 1). Males outnumbered females in the under-twenty-year age groups. Between ages thirty and forty the distribution was about equal. Above forty the percentage of females steadily increased.

Table 1. Population Disiribution of Czechoslovakia by Age and Sex, 1969

Age Group	Females (in thou-sands)	Males (in thou-sands)	Total (in thou-sands)	Percentage of Population	Females per 100 Males
0-4.....	533	553	1,086	7.5	96
5-9.....	528	553	1,081	7.5	96
10-14.....	556	531	1,187	7.8	96
15-19.....	639	665	1,304	9.0	96
20-24.....	625	645	1,270	8.7	97
25-29.....	521	539	1,051	7.2	98
30-34.....	432	438	870	6.0	98
35-39.....	438	434	872	6.0	101
40-44.....	493	476	969	6.7	103
45-49.....	490	457	947	6.5	105
50-54.....	354	326	680	4.7	109
55-59.....	405	368	773	5.3	110
60-64.....	445	394	839	5.8	113
65-69.....	373	301	674	4.6	124
70-74.....	292	202	494	3.4	145
75 and over.....	312	171	483	3.3	182
All Ages.....	7,435*	7,095*	14,530	100.0	105

*Columns do not add because of rounding.

Source: Adapted from Godfrey Baldwin (ed.), *International Population Reports* (U.S. Department of Commerce Publication, Series P-91, No. 18), Washington, 1969.

There are relatively few Czechs in Slovakia or Slovaks in the western regions. Slovaks constitute about 85 percent of the population of their regions, and minority groups, by far the largest of which is the Hungarian, account for nearly all of the remainder. Slovaks account for only 3 to 4 percent of the population in Bohemia and Moravia.

The 1971 population was approximately 1.1 million greater than it was in the earliest days of the republic and was slightly lower than immediately before World War II. The cession of Ruthenia (formerly easternmost Czechoslovakia) to the Soviet Union and deportation of

most of the German population accounted in large measure for an overall loss of about 2.5 million people between 1938 and 1950. There was some natural increase to the population during those years because the Ruthenian population was 0.8 million and because about 2.5 million Germans were expelled.

The largest population movement since World War II involved the resettlement of the area on the northern periphery of Bohemia, from which the prewar German population was evicted. As Slovakia has become increasingly industrialized there has also been a major eastward movement into its regions. A smaller group of people emigrated in 1968 after the Warsaw Pact nations invaded the country. Estimates of the number of emigrants at that time vary from a low of about 35,000 to as many as 100,000.

The Czech lands of Bohemia and Moravia are more densely populated than Slovakia, and 62 percent of these lands have 69 percent of the population. In 1967 population density in Slovakia was 235 persons per square mile, as opposed to the national average of 292 at that time. In the remainder of the country the density was 324 persons per square mile. This difference is expected to decrease somewhat, owing to the higher rate of natural increase and increasing industrial development in the Slovak regions, but the more mountainous terrain in the east will probably impose a limit upon potential growth in that area.

Czechoslovakia is essentially a country of small cities and towns. In 1969 the most densely populated areas of the country were the northern and central portions of Moravia, western Slovakia, northern Bohemia, and the areas around, and to the east of, Prague, which had a population of 1.1 million. Five other cities—Brno with 340,000; Bratislava, 280,000; Ostrava, 265,000; Plzen, 145,000; and Kosice, 120,000—were the only other urban areas with more than 100,000 population each.

In ethnic composition Czechs outnumber Slovaks by more than two to one, the 1969 figures showing approximately 9.3 million Czechs and 4.3 million Slovaks. Czechs constituted 65 percent and Slovaks 30 percent of the total population (see table 2). Hungarians (Magyars) were by far the largest minority group, constituting nearly 570,000, or about two-thirds of the minority peoples. Germans, who had made up 22 percent of the population in 1938, were reduced to about 100,000, or less than 1 percent, by 1969. German emigration has been encouraged, even during the years since the post-World War II deportations (see ch. 4, The Social Setting).

Official government statistics do not list Jewish and Gypsy populations separately. The Gypsies were believed to have numbered about 225,000 in 1968, an increase of some 85,000 since the late 1950s. They had become less nomadic but, despite efforts to integrate them into the population, they tended to live in segregated areas and

Table 2. Population Distribution of Czechoslovakia by Ethnic Group and Occupation, 1969

Group	Number (in thousands)	Percent of Total
<i>Ethnic:</i>		
Czech.....	9,317	64.5
Slovak.....	4,275	29.6
Hungarian.....	569	4.0
German.....	106	0.7
Polish.....	72	0.5
Ukrainian and Russian.....	60	0.4
Others.....	46	0.3
Total.....	14,445	100.0
<i>Occupational:</i> *		
Laborers.....	8,397	58.1
Other employees.....	4,308	29.8
Farmers in cooperatives.....	1,200	8.3
Other producers in cooperatives.....	168	1.2
Small farmers.....	305	2.1
Professionals.....	14	0.1
Artisans, businessmen, and tradesmen.....	53	0.4
Total.....	14,445	100.0

*Including families.

preferred to work in groups of their own people. Nearly three-quarters of them were in Slovakia.

The Jewish population had not been counted separately in post-World War II statistics, and estimates of its size in 1971 varied widely between 15,000 and 50,000, with the lower range usually given more credence. The 1930 census listed slightly more than 200,000 Jews living in Czechoslovakia, but only about 50,000 survived Nazi occupation; many thousands were believed to have emigrated during the early postwar years.

The most significant movement of people attributable to economic, rather than political, factors has resulted in a continually increasing ratio of urban-to-rural population. By as late as 1947 the state was still approximately 51 percent rural. In 1964 it had become 60 percent urban. Towns and smaller cities appeared to be growing faster than the larger cities. Continuation of the movement is expected as long as farms are cared for in larger sized units and farming methods become increasingly efficient. Only 11.6 percent of the population was directly involved with farming in 1969. The actual number of farmers will probably be reduced somewhat and the percentage of rural population will further decrease as the overall population increases.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

The modern Czech and Slovak peoples are both descendants of the Slavs who arrived before the sixth century; the characteristics that now differentiate them result from environmental influences and differing amounts of external contacts and ethnic intermixing. With the industrial revolution population gravitated to the areas where the most easily available coal and metallic resources were found, particularly the areas of northern Moravia and Silesia. Farming and forestry were highly developed during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but the country has become increasingly industrialized, and the population has followed industry and its related businesses to the cities.

Although government sources during the late 1960s showed only about 11 percent of the population engaged in agriculture, about 40 percent of the people lived in settlements with populations of less than 2,000. Villages tend to be compact, or nucleated, in more prosperous agricultural districts; less centralized street villages are more typical in Slovakia's upland areas. Mountain slopes are dotted with tiny settlements, but individual isolated farm dwellings are comparatively rare.

Except in the High Tatras difficult communications place only minor limitations on settlement patterns, and none but the most rugged mountain areas are inaccessible. Fragmentation of the most backward areas is such that roads are never far away, and no group is altogether cut off from external contacts. Dense population along the waterways ordinarily reflects the fact that roads and railroads follow the rivers, and that valley lowlands are usually good farming land. Railroads crisscross the country and, where there are none, roads have been built.

Approximately 5.8 million people live in settlements, villages, or towns of less than 2,000 population; and about 2.6 million, in towns with between 2,000 and 5,000. The remaining 6.1 million people live in about 300 towns or cities with populations of over 5,000; nearly one-half of them have 10,000 or more.

TRANSPORTATION

Expansion of transportation routes and their capabilities progressed steadily with scientific and industrial development, growth of urban centers, and the increase in population. Although trade was conducted along the waterways before permanent roadways were constructed, navigability of the rivers has never been more than marginally satisfactory.

Fully developed rail and road networks were built in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Early systems were part of the Danube basin development and were undertaken by Austrian and Hungarian governments in areas that they controlled at various times. Routes radiating from Vienna and Budapest were the first to be developed. With national independence after World War I, east-west roads and railroads, designed to improve communication between the Czech and Slovak lands, began to receive more emphasis. The east-west routes assumed still greater importance after World War II as the area fell under the dominance of the Soviet Union.

Railroads

A large portion of the basic modern rail system was built by the Austrian government between 1830 and 1860. Improvement of east-west service after 1918 and continued minor construction of feeder lines during the 1920s and 1930s resulted in the network's achieving its greatest track mileage—about 9,100 miles—by 1938.

Several of the main lines crossing the country are sections of major transcontinental trunklines and are important carriers of international traffic. Because of increasing use of trucks and buses on feeder lines and despite the renewal of east-west emphasis during the period of Soviet influence, total track in use in 1971 was down about 10 percent from 1938.

Equipment is good, and the system operates well but, owing to the abundantly available coal supply, the lines have been slow to convert from steam to diesel and electric locomotives. The last of the steam engines will probably be retired from regular service by the mid-1970s. In 1971 about 26 percent of the lines were double track, and about 15 percent were electrically powered.

Railroads carry only about one-fourth of the total freight tonnage but, because they are the long-distance haulers, they account for about 35 percent of the ton-miles. Rail passenger traffic is declining as private automobiles and buses take increasing percentages of local passengers and as airlines carry more of those traveling longer distances.

Roads

The country has about 45,000 miles of roads, but only a little more than one-half had concrete or asphalt surfaces by the late 1960s. Government plans call for increasing the asphalt surfaces to about 75 percent of the total by about 1975.

About 5,500 miles are considered primary trunk roads, usually twenty to thirty feet wide, occasionally a little narrower. Some 11,000 miles are considered secondary and may include some gravel surfaces.

They are almost invariably less than twenty feet wide and have bridges narrower than the roadways. Nearly 30,000 miles are tertiary and are usually one lane with crushed stone or dirt surfaces. Bridges on secondary and tertiary roads have low load capacities.

Winter freezing conditions contribute to the difficulties in keeping roads in good repair, and maintenance has failed to keep abreast of the rapidly increasing traffic. Frequently lesser used roads are in better condition than trunk routes.

Automobile registrations increased about fourfold, to total over 450,000 during the decade after 1956 and are continuing to rise steadily. Truck and bus registrations nearly doubled during the same period, reaching 140,000 and 7,500, respectively. Most vehicles are manufactured locally. Bus routes cover the country and carry most of the local passenger traffic. Trucks carry all but a small fraction of local freight.

Waterways

The principal navigable streams are the Elbe; its tributary, the Vltava, which flows through Prague; and the Danube. The Vah, Hron, Orava, Kysuca, and Poprad can be considered navigable by lesser standards, and they have some commercial importance. For example, they are used to float timber from the forests to downstream mills when rafting can be employed. The river systems are not interconnected by canals and, in comparison with the other transportation systems, are of relatively minor importance. Although there are about 500 miles of navigable channels, they carry only about 1 percent of the country's freight.

About 110 miles of the main channel of the Danube River touches the country, flowing along the Hungarian border and draining most of Moravia and Slovakia. The Danube is one of the world's important rivers, extending for nearly 1,800 miles and draining about 315,000 square miles. It is of limited use to Czechoslovakia, however, because it flows along one of the most sparsely settled and least industrialized parts of the country. Furthermore, although it is locally a navigable stream, external traffic downstream is restricted by hazardous rapids at the Iron Gate, where the river flows between Yugoslavia and Romania, and by silting at its delta at the Black Sea. Soviet influence in the eastern European area has resulted in greater efforts to regulate the river and improve its navigability but, as of 1969, its traffic had not been restored to 1939 levels.

The Elbe and Vltava carry more traffic and have been more important in external trade than the Danube. Both the Germans and the Czechs have attempted to push the navigable channels as far upstream as possible, and they have been able to control about 350 miles of the Elbe and its tributaries within Czechoslovakia. The

Vltava is a lesser stream before its tributaries join it in the vicinity of Prague, but it is usable for a considerable distance.

As the Elbe crosses the uplands near the northern border, for about forty-five miles it flows down about a 2 percent grade, and its current averages about 11.5 feet per second, or about eight miles per hour. The navigable channel is maintained at a minimum depth of six feet when the river is at normal levels. At low water it can drop to a level of two feet. Water levels usually permit two-way traffic about nine months of the year, but winter ice sometimes interferes during times when the water level is adequate.

Downstream barge traffic can operate in times of quite shallow water, when the tugs' somewhat deeper requirements have stopped upstream traffic. In addition to low water and winter ice, dense and persistent autumn fogs make use of the river more difficult.

Airlines

Czechoslovak Airlines (Ceskoslovenske Aerolinie—CSA) provides all available internal commercial air services and flies into a number of external areas. It has daily flights between Prague, Brno, and Bratislava all during the year; and during holiday seasons, between Prague, Karlovy Vary, and resort areas in the Tatra Mountains. Aero taxis are available for nonscheduled flights between most cities, some of which have only sod landing strips that can be used only in daylight and on clear days.

Prague is serviced by more Western airlines than any other non-Western city. Air France, Alitalia Airlines, British European Airways, British Overseas Airways, Canadian Pacific Airlines, Icelandic Airlines, Lufthansa German Airlines, Pan American Airways, SABENA, Scandinavian Airlines, and Swissair enter on regularly scheduled flights. These lines, in addition to CSA's external services, link Czechoslovakia with all European and nearly all major overseas capitals.

Pipelines

Crude oil and natural gas from the Soviet Union enter the country by pipeline, and feeder lines radiate from the major trunklines to numerous cities and industrial areas. Manufactured gas from lignite fields is also distributed by pipeline. The use of pipes to transfer inflammable liquids and gases has become so extensive that pipeline mileage has grown to become nearly one-half that of the operating railroad track mileage of the country.

Merchant Marine

Although landlocked, Czechoslovakia maintains a small merchant marine. It uses port facilities in West Germany and in several of the eastern European countries. Its ships are small, averaging just over 10,000 deadweight tons, but all of them have been built since 1960 and have speeds of about fifteen knots. Most of the ships' crewmembers are Czechoslovaks, and a few students receive officer training at merchant marine schools in the Soviet Union.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL SETTING

The Czechoslovak state has existed as an independent entity for only a relatively short period of time; it was established in 1918 after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Long before then, however, most of the essential ingredients of nationhood existed in the area that became Czechoslovakia. The historic lands of Bohemia and Moravia-Silesia had developed a national identity and awareness before the fourteenth century. Czech contributions to a cultural life gave impetus to a continued sense of nationalism even after total subjection of the region to Habsburg rule in the seventeenth century. By the early years of the twentieth century the Czechs felt they had achieved nationhood in every respect but political sovereignty.

The Slovaks also achieved a sense of unity and individual accomplishment akin to that of the Czechs, although their period of individual development lasted only until the tenth century. Their experience under the 1,000-year alien rule by Hungary that followed left them with a more latent and less well-defined means of expressing their national aspirations. Despite several centuries of separation and differing development, Czechs and Slovaks in 1918 were united in an independent state, reflecting their common ethnic and linguistic backgrounds.

During its first twenty years up to the time of the Munich agreement of 1938, the country enjoyed a liberal and democratic rule influenced largely by Western political concepts. During World War II the leaders of the state sought, as an exiled government, to retain the legal continuity of the country's independence and, upon restoration of the republic in 1945, attempted to recreate society on its prewar democratic basis.

After World War II and the liberation of the country, principally by Soviet forces, a reconstituted government came into power that reflected strong communist influences. Concessions were made to the Soviet Union by the exiled leaders in forming a postwar compromise government. Total control by the Communists resulted from a 1948 coup d'état, and another communist state was created within the Soviet orbit. By the early 1960s the repressive, hard-line Stalinist system had produced a severe national economic crisis, and there were internal and external party pressures for economic and social reforms.

The impetus for change in communist leadership in 1967 brought Alexander Dubcek, a moderate liberal, into the party's highest post in January 1968 and set in motion a series of liberalizing reforms that attempted to deemphasize the power of the party and the overriding political considerations that had influenced all actions in the past. These efforts, which were, in essence, broad attempts to create a socialist democracy, were short lived. By military intervention and occupation in 1968, the Soviet Union reestablished the full power of the Communists under new leadership and undertook a so-called normalization program of recasting national life in the former rigid pattern. This process had been virtually completed by mid-1971.

EARLY HISTORY

The Czechs and Slovaks are branches of the Western Slav group that migrated from their presumed homeland in the Vistula River basin northeast of the Carpathian mountains some time before the sixth century A.D. and settled in the territory inhabited by their descendants in modern Czechoslovakia. Much of the region had been occupied earlier by Celtic tribes, the Boii, whose name was given by the Romans to Bohemia, the westernmost part of the Slav settlement.

The Celts were gradually supplanted by Germanic tribes whose continued migration to the south and west did not inhibit the later Slavic settlement. The earliest Slavs, among whom were the Cechovi (Czechs), grouped themselves into loose tribal arrangements that were too weak to withstand the invasions of the Avars, Asiatic peoples who dominated east-central Europe for varying periods from about 550 until 795.

In the seventh century a relatively well-organized union of Slavs centered in Moravia managed to fend off both Avars and Franks for a short period and establish what was one of the earliest Slavic states in history. This short-lived political entity disintegrated in A.D. 685 after an existence of only thirty-five years, and the Czechs and Slovaks once again endured Avar domination with periodic Frankish incursions.

By the ninth century, after the Avars had been defeated by the Franks under their king, Charlemagne, the so-called Great Moravian Empire came into existence under an indigenous Moravian dynasty. During its century-long existence the empire gave indications of becoming a permanent fixture in the political structure of Europe, but it was a loosely defined state and its political cohesion more often than not depended upon the personality of its ruler. Internal discord concerning succession weakened the empire, and the rulers proved to be incapable of repelling constant Germanic pressures and influences.

But the coup de grace to the Moravian state was administered by the Magyars, who invaded Slovakia, destroyed the Moravian entity, and initiated a ten-century domination of the Slovaks.

During the period of the Great Moravian Empire, the Czechs and Slovaks were converted to Christianity. Byzantine missionaries Cyril and Methodius were invited by a Moravian ruler to teach the tenets of their faith to his subjects and, using the local languages, the two missionaries were highly successful in gaining converts to the Eastern form of Christianity. Before the end of the ninth century, however, German missionaries had greatly multiplied and succeeded in displacing Byzantine rites with the Roman.

The 1,000-year separation of the Slovaks and Czechs, complicated by geographical as well as political factors, played a major role in later attempts to form a unified Czechoslovak nation. Slovakia, isolated from the western Czech and Moravian lands and repressed in many of its cultural aspirations, developed no national history distinct from that of Hungary. The Czechs of Bohemia and Moravia, on the other hand, were able to organize a national state, which developed independently for several hundred years.

The rise of Bohemia, the western part of the former Great Moravian Empire, took place gradually during the ninth and tenth centuries. The Premyslid princes, whose seat of power was centered in the settlements around Prague, established themselves as independent rulers and received recognition as kings of Bohemia. They entered into a loose relationship with the Holy Roman Empire, and, during their long rule of nearly 400 years, the Bohemian-Moravian state was, for the most part, surrounded by Germanic influences and functioned as part of an essentially German political organization.

Although the eleventh and twelfth centuries were characterized by dynastic rivalries, the embryonic state survived and eventually expanded its territories into parts of Austria and Poland. Despite the state's long-term sharing in German political institutional life, very little assimilation of the Czechs by the Germans took place. Political and cultural attachments of the Czechs to the West were firmly set but without any loss of separate identity.

With the death of the last Premyslid king in 1306, Bohemia entered a four-year interregnum during which several European royal houses contested for the vacant throne. John of Luxembourg finally acceded to the throne in 1310, largely through the efforts of his father, a powerful German king who became Holy Roman Emperor two years later. The reign of Charles I (1346-78), the second king of the Luxembourg line, is generally considered to be the most brilliant in the history of the Kingdom of Bohemia. Charles was elected Holy Roman Emperor (as Charles IV) in 1355, and Prague for a time became the chief city of the empire.

During the thirty-year reign of Charles, the Czech nation rose to a position that rivaled those of the greatest states in Europe. In 1356 Charles, as Holy Roman Emperor, issued the Golden Bull, which gave the king of Bohemia first rank among the electors of the empire. In addition, he promoted the use of the Czech language, promulgated a code of laws, and encouraged the growth of cities and commerce. He also founded the first university in central Europe, which soon made the Bohemian capital a great center of culture and learning. Charles imported foreign architects and artisans and initiated a program of public construction that contributed to Prague's later renown as one of Europe's most beautiful cities.

After the death of Charles in 1378, the power of the Bohemian state steadily declined. Despite the persistent German influences derived from its continued ties to the Holy Roman Empire and despite many internal frictions that served to weaken the ruling authority, the country maintained its national identity. The line of succession to the throne became uncertain, and the frequent struggles between successive kings and the well-entrenched nobles did much to impair the royal power and gave impetus to the early coalescence of a Czech spirit of reform.

The period of tension that steadily developed was ignited by open insurrection by the religious reformation led by Jan Hus at the beginning of the fifteenth century (see ch. 5, Cultural Development). The Hussite Wars, which lasted about twenty years after Hus was tried as a heretic and burned at the stake in 1415, were nationalistic, as well as religious, wars. While Catholic-Protestant religious antagonisms were well in the forefront, dissatisfaction existed between peasants and landlords, and a resentment was felt by the lower and middle classes of the cities and towns against the merchants and well-to-do upper classes, most of whom were Germans.

The Hussite Wars ravaged Bohemia and left a heritage of bitterness and distrust. Basic issues were left unresolved and the Hussite movement remained active, becoming a forerunner of the Reformation initiated by Martin Luther in the next century. George Podebrady a Hussite prince, came to the throne first as a regent and then as an elected king in 1459. Although his reign was marked by compromise and moderation, no lasting stability was restored to the country. The continued unsettled conditions favored the powerful nobles who extended their estates and influence at the expense of both the church and crown. During this period the succession to the Bohemian throne was again confused, passing into Hungarian and Polish hands, before being successfully claimed for the House of Habsburg in 1526 by Ferdinand I of Austria. This action was quickly followed by Ferdinand's being accepted, also, as king of Hungary.

The Habsburg Era

The grouping of Bohemia and Hungary with Austria under Habsburg rule created a loose alliance in which the royal crown shared power in the countries with the estates, or nobles, and the church. Most of the measures Ferdinand instituted in Bohemia to strengthen the power of the monarchy, including the declaration of the Bohemian crown as hereditary in the House of Habsburg, were accepted and had a unifying effect on the country. During the sixteenth century while the Habsburgs became more involved with the Counter-Reformation, Bohemia became increasingly Protestant—largely because of the penetration of Luther's teachings into central Europe.

Friction between the Bohemian estates and the Habsburg rulers broke out in open rebellion in 1618, when two Catholic representatives of Ferdinand II to the Assembly of Estates were thrown out of a window in Hradcany Castle, the royal palace, by Protestant delegates to the assembly. Ferdinand II was declared deposed, and in 1619 Frederick of the Palatinate, a Calvinist and son-in-law of King James I of England, was proclaimed king of Bohemia. From 1618 to the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, the whole of central Europe was ravaged by the Thirty Years' War that followed the insurrection of the Czechs in Prague.

Emperor Ferdinand II allied himself with Maximilian of Bavaria, head of the Catholic League, and with the Elector of Saxony. Their combined forces defeated the Czech armies at the Battle of the White Mountain, near Prague, on November 8, 1620. This decisive defeat marked a swift decline in traditional Czech liberties and the end of political independence for Bohemia and Moravia-Silesia until the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic after World War I.

After 1620 the political, social, and economic structure of the Bohemian lands was radically altered. The Czech and Czech-German nobility were deposed and their estates given to members of a new Catholic nobility from southern Germany who had supported the Habsburg cause. High administrative offices were taken over by crown appointees, and the role of the Czech towns was limited in governmental actions. The German language, initially raised to equality with Czech as an official language, subsequently replaced it as the single official language throughout the empire.

Successive Habsburg monarchs continued to press the work of the Counter-Reformation, as well as a strong policy of continued Germanization. Politically, centralization of authority proceeded to the point where Bohemia virtually was ruled from Vienna as a province, and the city of Prague became little more than an administrative center. By the end of the eighteenth century, German Roman Catholic and German cultural influences had become dominant throughout the country and permeated all levels of national

life. As a reaction to the systematic imposition of these resented changes, however, a deeply rooted affection for the old order, traditions, and customs of their native land was instilled among the Czechs, along with a strong desire to preserve them. This incipient nationalism became a sustaining force that played an important role in the later rebirth of Czech national consciousness.

The Rise of Nationalism

At the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, there were signs that Czech nationalism could be revived along with the general nationalistic trends that were beginning to transform the political, economic, and cultural structure in much of Europe. In the period after the Napoleonic Wars a Czech renaissance began as a literary movement and, in the 1840s, turned into demands for restitution of constitutional rights for the Bohemian lands. A simultaneous nationalist effort developed in Slovakia against Hungarian rule, but little came of either of these efforts under the continued strong absolutist influence of Prince von Metternich, chancellor of the Austrian Empire.

The reverberations of the 1848 revolutions in France and Germany were felt in Prague, where demonstrations occurred and petitions were drawn up demanding a federated status for Bohemia within the Austrian Empire. Promises of a new, more liberal constitution were won initially, but strong Austrian military action was finally invoked to end the Prague disturbances along with all concessions toward political reform. Despite these reverses, Czech nationalism continued to grow and was aided considerably by the decline of the old feudal order and the effects of industrialization, which had begun to transform much of central Europe in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The Czech agrarian population migrated in large numbers to industrial regions and established a strong working class and a middle class, which further strengthened and broadened the indigenous political base.

National aspirations of both the Czechs and Slovaks received a setback in 1867 when Austria, after defeat by Prussia a year earlier, was forced to accept Hungary as an equal partner in the dual Austro-Hungarian Empire. Bohemia remained an integral part of Austria with a minority status, and Slovakia was further subjected to an increased process of forced assimilation aimed at the elimination of all national feelings, except Hungarian, in the new autonomous Hungarian state.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century and during the early years of the twentieth, the Czechs organized into parliamentary groups and intensified their efforts in the Austrian Diet to secure autonomy for their country. By 1897 the Czech language had again

been raised to a parity with German in Bohemia and, in 1907, universal manhood suffrage was secured for the selection of parliamentary representation. It was also during this period that Thomas G. Masaryk, a renowned Czech leader and statesman, won his first seat in parliament and began to work for an independent Czech state within a federal Austria. Masaryk, in the ensuing years, developed an interest in Western democratic principles, which he later made the basis of the political ideology of the first Czechoslovak republic.

THE FIRST REPUBLIC

After the outbreak of World War I, the Czech nationalist leaders became increasingly convinced that independence could be secured only by an Allied victory and the breakup of the Dual Monarchy. The demonstrated sympathies of both the Czechs and Slovaks for Serbia and Russia developed into active hostility toward the Austrian government early in 1914. As a result, martial law was declared in the country, Czechs of suspected disloyalty were interned, and open political activity was banned. Karel Kramar, a contemporary of Masaryk, was arrested for treason, but not executed, and later became a major link between the underground revolutionary activities at home and the liberation movement conducted by Czech émigrés abroad.

The main work of the Czech nationalists was carried out abroad, especially by Masaryk, Josef Durich, Edward Benes, and Milan Stefanik—a Slovak patriot who had migrated earlier to France and had become a general officer in the French army. In February 1916 the first step toward the creation of an independent Czechoslovakia was taken in Paris by the establishment of the Czechoslovak National Council with Masaryk as its president, Durich as vice president, Benes as secretary general, and Stefanik as the Slovak representative.

The primary objective of the council, which subsequently set up branches in Great Britain, Russia, and the United States, was to win political recognition as the nucleus of an independent Czechoslovak government. In support of this goal, the council also sought to create a separate Czechoslovak military organization to participate in the war against the Central Powers and to serve as the forerunner of a national army (see ch. 13, Armed Forces).

Initially, Czech troop units were organized in Russia, France, and Italy from prisoners of war, many of whom had deserted voluntarily en masse. The earliest of these units was formed in Russia under tsarist auspices and was officered by Russians. After a battle in July 1917 on the Eastern Front in which a Czech brigade distinguished itself, the Russian government of Alexander Kerensky authorized the

formation of additional Czech legions under independent Czech command. These forces ultimately totaled about 30,000 men and were responsible to, and controlled by, the Czechoslovak National Council.

Similar Czech legions were formed in Italy and saw action against Austrian forces on the Italian front. In France, Czechs and Slovaks were exempted from classification as enemy aliens and were recruited into the French Foreign Legion or into small autonomous units. By December 1917 several independent Czech regiments were integrated with Allied forces along the Western Front.

Masaryk was particularly successful in receiving both financial and political support for Czechoslovak independence in the United States. As early as 1915, large and influential groups of American Czechs, Slovaks, and Ruthenians in several large cities had proclaimed the necessity of an organic union of Czechs and Slovaks within Austria-Hungary. By mid-1918 this feeling had intensified and at a meeting in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, representatives of various Czech and Slovak organizations in the United States adopted a resolution favoring the establishment of an independent Czechoslovakia. In June 1918 the United States Department of State issued a statement formally endorsing the Czechoslovak independence movement. On October 14 of the same year, the Czechoslovak National Council in Paris declared itself the provisional government of Czechoslovakia and received formal recognition by the Allied Powers. On October 18, Masaryk, still in the United States, issued the official Czechoslovak declaration of independence as president of the provisional government.

In Prague, during the summer of 1918, the impending defeat of the Central Powers brought about a quick deterioration of central authority. The Austrian emperor, in an effort to stabilize conditions, freed Kramar and other revolutionary leaders, ended martial law, and in October declared Austria a federal state in which the Czechs and Slovaks, as well as other minority groups, were granted autonomy. Revolutionary action, however, had progressed too rapidly and too far to accept anything less than full independence from Austrian control.

By July 1918 the Prague National Council, in close touch with Masaryk and his associates, had been organized under the presidency of Kramar to represent Czechs and Slovaks within the country. On October 28, after the capitulation of Austria-Hungary, the council proclaimed the independence of the Czechoslovak state and assumed supreme authority in Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia. This action was followed two days later by the publication of a manifesto by a similar revolutionary body, the Slovak National Council, which reaffirmed that Slovakia was part of the Czechoslovak nation. In May 1919 the Central National Council of the Ruthenians also declared in Uzhgorod that Ruthenia (Sub-Carpathian Ukraine) should join Czechoslovakia as an autonomous territory.

Representatives of the Prague National Council met in Geneva, Switzerland, between October 28 and 31, with members of the Czechoslovak National Council of Paris and agreed on a provisional government for the new state. It was also decided at this conference that the form of government to be adopted would be that of a democratic republic.

In mid-November of 1918 the Prague National Council transformed itself into the Czechoslovak National Assembly for the purpose of establishing a legal interim government. Although not elected by the people, the National Assembly was representative in that it was constituted in accordance with the proportional numerical strength of the individual political parties, containing 256 members, of whom 44 were Slovaks. The assembly enjoyed the full confidence of all the people, except the Germans living in the country, who refused to nominate representatives to the body.

At its first meeting on November 14, the National Assembly adopted an interim constitution and elected Masaryk president by acclamation. The first cabinet was also chosen and consisted of Kramar, premier; Benes, minister of foreign affairs; Alois Rasin, minister of finance; and General Stefanik, minister of war. Masaryk returned to Prague on December 21 and assumed the office of president.

THE INTERWAR YEARS, 1918-38

The new republic that emerged after World War I was a multinational state with a strong proportion of ethnic minorities, whose presence remained a serious problem until the population shifts that took place after World War II. The Czechs, largest of the ethnic groups, constituted about 31 percent of the population; Germans, slightly more than 22 percent; Slovaks about 16 percent; Hungarians, approximately 5 percent; and the Ruthenians, nearly 4 percent. The remaining 2 percent of the population included Jews, Poles, and Gypsies (see ch. 4, The Social Setting).

There were significant differences among these groups not only in language and religion but also in traditions and customs. The Germans, who were concentrated mainly in the peripheral areas of Bohemia and Moravia-Silesia bordering on Austria and Germany (an area commonly referred to as the Sudetenland), were not enthusiastic about their incorporation into a Slavic nation as a minority. This reversal of the role they had played under the previous Habsburg rule remained a source of friction throughout the next two decades.

After conclusion of the peace treaties, which confirmed the independence of Czechoslovakia and defined its new frontiers, the country adopted its first formal constitution in February 1920.

Modeled after those of France and the United States, the constitution provided for a unitary democratic republic under a parliamentary form of government—the parliament being composed of two assemblies: a Senate and a Chamber of Députies. The new document did not provide for a federation of nationalities but, rather, instituted a single Czechoslovak citizenship for all people, along with broad guarantees of individual rights. After the general elections that followed, Masaryk was formally confirmed as president, and the government carried out extensive programs of educational, health, fiscal, and land reforms.

The general elections of 1920 returned a socialist plurality largely reflecting the depressed conditions that existed generally in Central Europe during the immediate postwar period. A governing coalition of the five major political parties, representing a broad political spectrum, was formed. The Social Democratic Party and the National Socialist Party were generally to the Left in political thought; the Peoples' Party, in the Center. The Agrarian Party and the National Democratic Party tended toward the Right. After the extreme left-wing elements of the Social Democrats seceded in 1921 to form the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (Komunisticka Strana Ceskoslovenska—KSC), the Agrarians became the largest single party and held the premiership under a continued system of coalition governments from 1922 to 1938.

From 1922 to the late 1930s, the First Republic developed into a liberal, prosperous, democratic state under the presidencies of Masaryk and the former minister of foreign affairs, Edward Benes, who succeeded to the office in 1935. Although the pattern of political life was relatively stable, the minority problems involving the Slovaks and the Sudeten Germans became more serious. Despite governmental concessions, including the liberalization of self-government at local levels, the Slovaks continued their demands for complete autonomy or, later, the creation of a separate state. The Germans showed increased resentment concerning their subordinate role in national affairs, growing progressively militant under later pressures from Germany after Adolf Hitler became chancellor in 1933.

Although the Czechoslovak republic was economically viable, it was too small in terms of territory and population to be militarily defensible. Lacking the ability to play a leading role in European politics, the government leaders pursued an active and consistent policy of collective security in order to maintain the country's independence. In 1920 Czechoslovakia concluded a treaty of mutual assistance with Yugoslavia that was expanded into a tripartite alliance by the addition of Romania in 1921. This alliance, known as the Little Entente, was specifically intended to forestall the

restoration of either Habsburg or Hungarian control in the successor states of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire.

In order to seek assurance against a resurgent Germany, the Czech regional security system was expanded in 1924 by the signing of a treaty with France that provided for political and military assistance against any aggression by a third power. After the rise of Hitler to power, the Czech leaders sought further insurance against the growing threat of German militarism. In 1935 they concluded a mutual assistance pact with the Soviet Union that was linked to the earlier French treaty in that it was to become effective upon French fulfillment of their treaty obligations. These cooperative arrangements were intended to provide safeguards that would preserve the physical integrity of the Czech state.

THE SECOND REPUBLIC AND THE PROTECTORATE

The effects of the worldwide depression of the early 1930s were particularly hard felt in the highly industrialized German border districts of Czechoslovakia. The economic dislocations that developed created a new set of problems, adding greatly to the cultural and political discontent of the Sudeten Germans. These conditions provided fertile ground for Nazi agitation and propaganda in support of Hitler's expansionist policies. In 1933 Germany fostered the organization of the Sudeten German Party—a Nazi-dominated group that had developed from an earlier German nationalist movement led by Konrad Henlein. By 1935 this party had become the second largest in the country; over the next two years it embarked on a program of disruptive activities centered on demands for autonomy for all Germans in the republic.

Early in 1938 Hitler intensified his program of foreign aggression. In February he promised protection for all German minorities outside the German Reich and followed this declaration by the forcible annexation of Austria on March 12. Meanwhile, Henlein, at a party meeting in Karlovy Vary (Karlsbad), made further demands on the Czech government, including immediate autonomy for inhabitants of the German areas, as well as a complete revision of Czechoslovak foreign policy. These demands were unacceptable, but the Benes government, assisted by a British mission, entered into negotiations in an unsuccessful attempt to reach a peaceful solution to the nationality issue.

By the end of the summer of 1938, a critical situation had developed: the Czechoslovaks had strengthened fortifications in the border regions and mobilized a large portion of their forces; the French had called up increased numbers of reservists; the British fleet

had concentrated in home waters; and the Germans conducted large-scale military maneuvers involving additional mobilized units.

Within Czechoslovakia events continued to worsen. Although sporadic discussions continued with Henlein and other dissident leaders, widespread disorder broke out resulting in the imposition of martial law over much of the country. On September 15 Henlein and many of his followers fled to Germany after an inflammatory speech by Hitler at Nürnberg, in which he demanded that the right of self-determination be given to all Sudeten Germans.

British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain met twice with Hitler in Germany during mid-September of 1938. At a separate meeting in London, the British and French urged Czechoslovakia to accede to Hitler's demands, which, by then, had increased to outright and immediate cession of the Sudetenland to Germany. On September 29 at Munich, a conference involving Great Britain, France, Italy, and Germany, but excluding Czechoslovakia, again failed to produce any compromise in the German demands. As a result, an agreement was signed the next day by the heads of all the representative governments that forced Czechoslovakia to cede all the disputed Sudeten areas to Germany by October 10.

The truncated Czechoslovak state that resulted from the Munich conference lasted only a few months. German troops occupied the Sudeten areas and also annexed additional sectors whose status was to have been determined by plebiscite. During this period Poland renewed its longstanding claims to the Teschen area of northern Moravia and occupied the region after the Czechoslovak government capitulated to an ultimatum from Warsaw. Hungarian claims were also advanced to a part of southern Slovakia and Ruthenia, and these areas were awarded later to that country at a joint Italian-German conference in Vienna.

By early October, President Benes had resigned and left the country. He was replaced by Emil Hacha, whose governmental powers were severely curtailed. Slovakia was granted full autonomy, but its leaders, with German collusion, were encouraged to provoke another crisis by increasing their demands for complete independence from the residual Czech state. By this means Hitler created the basis for further intervention into Czechoslovak affairs and additional dismemberment of the country.

Monsignor Joseph Tiso, prime minister of the Slovak government, was deposed by President Hacha and immediately appealed to Hitler, who supported his actions against the Czech regime. President Hacha was summoned to Berlin and given an ultimatum to surrender control of the remaining Czech territories to Germany, to which he acquiesced. On March 15, 1939, German troops occupied the country, and the next day an agreement was signed by which the remnants of the Czech state were incorporated into the German Reich as the

Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia. At the same time the autonomous Republic of Slovakia, with Monsignor Tiso as president, was established and also put under German protection. Thus Czechoslovakia was eliminated as an independent political entity.

GERMAN OCCUPATION DURING WORLD WAR II

A German commission, initially headed by Constantin von Neurath with the title of Reich Protector, was established to administer the annexed areas of Bohemia and Moravia. The Czech army and police units were disbanded, and authority was placed in the hands of German security and police forces under von Neurath's deputy, Karl Hermann Frank, a Sudeten German leader. After the outbreak of World War II in September 1939, a policy of Germanization of the area and the Czech people was introduced, which included making German the official language, closing of Czech universities and technological institutions, systematic economic plundering of the country in support of the war effort, liquidation of intellectual leaders, and establishment of concentration and extermination camps for resisters and Jews.

In late 1941 von Neurath was replaced by Reinhard Heydrich as Reich Protector, and repressive measures were intensified in order to further subjugate the population and to reduce the growing impact of underground resistance and subversion. The excessive brutality of these actions resulted in the assassination of Heydrich in 1942 that, in turn, evoked still harsher reprisals. Among the retributive actions taken by the Germans after Heydrich's death was the total destruction of Lidice, a small town west of Prague. All male inhabitants were shot, all women and children were deported separately, and the site was completely razed. Despite the unremitting severity of the German occupation, however, Czechoslovak resistance continued until the end of the war.

Slovakia, ostensibly an autonomous ally of Germany, fared only slightly better than Bohemia and Moravia during the war years. Smaller in size and less important economically and strategically, the Germans chose to control the country through the existing machinery of President Tiso's party rather than establish direct administrative controls as had been done in Bohemia and Moravia. Despite the indirect method used, Slovakia quickly took on the characteristics of a police state. Concentration camps were created; all opposition was suppressed; and the political, cultural, and economic reorientation of the state toward Germany was aggressively pursued.

Dissatisfaction, resentment, and outright resistance to German policies developed and intensified among the Slovaks as it had among the Czechs. Underground partisan elements formed rapidly and were

augmented by defections from Slovak army units sent to fight against them. In the late summer of 1944, these resistance units participated in one of the strongest, though ill-fated, partisan rebellions of the war—one that was intended to unite the Slovak people in the liberation of the country from German control.

THE THIRD REPUBLIC

President Benes left Czechoslovakia in the fall of 1938 and organized the Czech National Committee in London the following year from among Czech exiles and diplomatic personnel abroad. The purpose of this group was to obtain recognition for the legal continuity of a government-in-exile on the basis of the independent Czech state as it existed before the Munich conference. This committee organized Czech army and air forces in France in support of the Allies, and was recognized by both Great Britain and France as a belligerent in late 1939. After the fall of France, Czech forces were evacuated to Great Britain, and the National Committee was recognized by Great Britain as the Czechoslovak Provisional Government.

The provisional government was formed with Benes as president; Jan Sramek as prime minister; and Jan Masaryk, son of the first president, as minister for foreign affairs. It functioned effectively during the next year and expanded into a fairly representative body with the influx of additional exiles from the homeland. In July 1941, after Germany had shifted its military emphasis to the east by attacking the Soviet Union, both that country and Great Britain granted full recognition to the provisional government and exchanged diplomatic representatives with it as the Czechoslovak government-in-exile. Shortly afterwards the United States government, as a neutral nation, took similar action.

In 1943, after the German defeat at Stalingrad, and following several conferences held by the major Allied powers concerning postwar arrangements, President Benes adopted a policy of close cooperation with both the Soviet Union and the West. In pursuit of this policy he concluded a treaty of friendship and mutual assistance with the Soviet Union in December. This treaty insured Czechoslovakia against future German aggression and guaranteed the restoration of the country's pre-Munich borders. While in Moscow President Benes also agreed to several political compromises that favored the Communists, in order to secure their cooperation in a postwar government.

The concessions agreed to by Benes embraced a broad program of economic and social changes, including the exchange of minority populations, the establishment of national committees to administer local and regional affairs before elections, and the outlawing of all

rightist political parties suspected of collaborating with the Germans. Also, agreements were reached limiting the number of parties that would be permitted to organize and requiring all authorized parties to operate through a single united National Front. These measures played an important role in the KSC's early postwar domination of Czech affairs.

By early 1945 Soviet forces had recovered the eastern part of the country from German control and, although United States units were rapidly approaching from the west, it became apparent that responsibility for the liberation of Prague would fall to the Soviets. President Benes, therefore, left London in March and went to Moscow to work out details for a provisional government to be established in the liberated area. In early April a temporary capital was set up at Kosice in eastern Slovakia where a new cabinet was formed and a detailed governmental plan, known as the Kosice Program, was published.

In the National Front coalition government created by Benes at Kosice, Jan Masaryk was retained as minister of foreign affairs, but eight of the remaining twenty-four posts were filled by Communists or pro-Communists. Zdenek Fierlinger, Czechoslovak wartime ambassador in Moscow, was named prime minister; and Klement Gottwald and Ludvik Svoboda, both of whom had also spent the war years in Moscow, were given the positions of deputy prime minister and minister of defense, respectively. The important ministries of interior, agriculture, and information were among the other key appointments given to the Communists.

The Kosice Program, proclaimed by the new government of the restored Third Republic, was based on the general principles agreed to by President Benes in December 1943. The National Front consisted of four Czech parties (the Social Democrats, the National Socialists, the People's Party, and the Czechoslovak Communists) and two Slovak parties (the Slovak Communists and the Slovak Democrats). The conservative Agrarian Party, the largest in pre-World War II Czechoslovakia, was barred from this political coalition on the contention that its representatives had collaborated with the Germans during the occupation. The official vesting of local power in national committees created a useful tool for the later communist penetration and establishment of a broad base of control at the lowest political level.

On May 10, 1945, the new government moved to Prague and carried out the Kosice Program by decree until a provisional national assembly was elected later in the year. One of the earliest steps taken by the government was to carry out the agreed proposal to create a more ethnically homogeneous Czech-Slovak state through the expelling or exchanging of minorities. Many Sudeten Germans had fled before the end of the war, and the bulk of those remaining were

transferred to Germany. Hungarians in Slovakia were exchanged for Slovaks in Hungary, and the relatively large numbers of Russians and Ukrainians went to the Soviet Union through the cession of Ruthenia to the Soviet Union. The remaining small ethnic groups, including the Poles within the Teschen area that was restored to Czechoslovak control, were given either Czech or Slovak citizenship.

Before the holding of national elections for a constituent assembly, the Fierlinger government, under strong communist impetus, undertook further measures to consolidate its position within the country. Land redistribution, under a thinly disguised party patronage system, was begun by the communist minister of agriculture; trade unions were organized along communist lines; nationalization of industry, banking, and commerce was introduced; and the first steps in the reorganization of the police and military establishments were initiated. These changes altered the traditional democratic patterns of the Czechoslovak state and favored the elevation of the Communist Party to the dominant position in political and economic affairs.

THE COMMUNIST COUP D'ETAT OF 1948

The strength of the Communists became evident in the relatively free parliamentary elections of 1946 in which they received 38 percent of the votes and won 114 of the 300 seats. As a result, the communist leader, Klement Gottwald, became prime minister, and other party members continued in many of the key cabinet posts. Having achieved an appreciable measure of popular support at the polls and having established their political leadership on a legal basis, the Communists embarked on a program of consolidating their economic and political power and of bringing the country firmly within the orbit of the Soviet Union. This decision was reinforced by the pressures and tensions of the international situation of the late 1940s (commonly called the cold war), during which the Soviet Union was aggressively strengthening its position in central and Eastern Europe.

A breakdown in the effectiveness of the coalition government was precipitated in July 1947 over Czechoslovak acceptance, and later rejection, under direct Soviet pressure, of a United States invitation to participate in the European Recovery Program (Marshall Plan). This incident, and particularly the circumstances that forced rejection of the United States invitation, effected a revulsion of public opinion against the Soviet Union and strengthened the anticommunist attitude of the noncommunist parties. In the face of growing unpopularity and intracoalition resistance after mid-1947, the Communist Party leaders were confronted with the possibility of losing their leading position in the next elections scheduled for the spring of 1948.

Toward the end of 1947, friction grew rapidly as the Communists intensified their efforts to increase their control within the governmental machinery. A major crisis was provoked when the communist minister of the interior, Vaclav Nosek, attempted to change the police force into a purely communist agency by the mass replacement of noncommunist officials with reliable Communists. The noncommunist cabinet ministers, on February 13, 1948, demanded that the order authorizing these changes be rescinded. When no action had been taken by the interior minister by February 20, all the noncommunist ministers tendered their resignations to President Benes.

President Benes delayed acceptance of the resignations and insisted that any new government be based on the parties represented in the National Front. The Communists opposed the readmission of the resigning ministers into any new government and worked to force the creation of a government excluding their opponents. To this end, they called for and helped create a revised National Front composed of those parties whose members repudiated the action of the resigning ministers and representatives of mass organizations who were in agreement with, or sympathetic to, the Communist Party.

To gain President Benes' acceptance of a government based on a coalition from this revised National Front, the Communists resorted to a program of mass intimidation in support of their demands. Communist-controlled action committees, previously organized in towns, factories, trade unions, shop plants, and schools, were armed and joined the police in an overwhelming display of strength in Prague and in key points throughout the country. The press and radio were commandeered and saturated the population with procommunist propaganda.

President Benes, at this time a sick man who wanted to avoid civil war, capitulated to the communist demands. On February 25 he accepted a new National Front cabinet headed by Klement Gottwald and composed preponderantly of Communists and Communist sympathizers. This action completed a bloodless coup and placed Czechoslovakia under complete communist control.

THE COMMUNIST STATE

After their seizure of the government, the Communists embarked on a determined program of consolidating their power and creating a totalitarian state. Extensive purges and liquidation of anticommunist elements were initiated, and a new constitution was approved by the communist-controlled parliament in early May. Benes refused to sign the constitution into law and resigned the following month. In the meantime, the regularly scheduled parliamentary elections were held

under controlled conditions. The single list of candidates presented by the communist-dominated National Front was elected and formed a new National Assembly, which elected Klement Gottwald to succeed Edward Benes as president. Gottwald was replaced by Antonin Zapotocky, an old-line Communist, as prime minister; and Rudolf Slansky, secretary general of the party, became deputy prime minister.

As president, Gottwald ratified the new constitution that officially redesignated the state as a so-called people's republic in the pattern that the Soviet Union had established in other Eastern European bordering states. Over the ensuing ten-year period, the country assumed the characteristics of a Soviet satellite. Five-year plans based on a highly centralized economic system were introduced, domestic programs of intensive nationalization and agricultural collectivism were imposed, and an undeviating Soviet-oriented foreign policy was adopted. By the early 1950s virtually all anticomunist influences had been suppressed, and the traditional democratic practices in many social, religious, educational, and cultural fields had been eliminated.

The political purges and show trials of the 1951-53 period had no discernible impact on either the continuity or the severity of communist rule. More important internally was the opportunity that the purges afforded the central government, that is, to eliminate many of the nationalists among the Slovak Communists. Since the communist coup d'état in 1948, the strengthening of central control over all party affairs in Prague, and the corresponding gradual reduction in the autonomous status of the Slovak communist apparatus had seriously aggravated the political climate in Slovakia.

The death of Stalin in 1953 and the posthumous denunciation of him by Premier Khrushchev in 1956 brought no corresponding liberalization to Czechoslovakia under the general de-Stalinization programs, which appeared elsewhere in the communist world. The deaths of President Gottwald in 1953 and his successor, President Antonin Zapotocky, in 1957 resulted in the election of Antonin Novotny and another ten-year extension of strong Stalinist-type governmental control. The reactions to the rigid communist regimes in Poland and Hungary that occurred in 1956 were not allowed to spread to Czechoslovakia by Novotny.

The preservation of the principle of strong centralized rule was embodied in the new constitution that President Novotny promulgated in July 1960 (see ch. 6, Governmental System). This document was modeled after that of the Soviet Union both in form and content and ideologically proclaimed almost complete success for the progress of socialism in Czechoslovakia. The official title of the country was changed to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, and the

limitations that had been imposed on Slovak autonomy in practice were now formalized in basic law.

The almost complete collapse of the Czechoslovak economy in the early 1960s produced the ultimate crisis that, with its political repercussions, undermined the dogmatic rule of President Novotny and eventually led to his replacement as party leader in 1968 by Alexander Dubcek. Agricultural and industrial production declined sharply, and the national income decreased to a level where the goals of the third Five Year Plan (1961-65) had to be abandoned (see ch. 10, Character and Structure of the Economy). The quality of goods declined to the point where Czechoslovak products had difficulty in competing in foreign markets. The export problem became particularly acute because of the country's dependence upon imports of raw materials and foodstuffs—the latter necessitated by the failure of agriculture to reach even pre-1938 production levels.

Shortages of goods became widespread, and this, coupled with the deterioration in living conditions, gave rise to a general feeling of popular discontent. Over the period of the next few years, the overall effect of economic failure gave rise to a number of other critical issues that eventually came to the surface and congealed into a widespread agitation for an effective de-Stalinization program that would liberalize all phases of national life.

One of the major problems that quickly arose and built up strong pressure for changes in the communist system was the long-term desire of the Slovaks to redress the injustices of the past and to rehabilitate those leaders who had been victimized in the harsh Stalinist purges of the 1950s. A second problem of considerable magnitude developed from the long smoldering discontent within the ranks of the various intellectual groups. Many of the leading writers, journalists, and social scientists had been stifled by censorship and imposed political guidelines and felt that the time had come for some synthesis of democracy and socialism that would permit the freer expression of modern ideas.

The opportunity for the official airing of these and other complaints was provided by the Czechoslovak Communist Party at its twelfth congress in December 1962. At this meeting it was agreed that the party organization would review the purge trials and study the economic problems. In making these decisions the party leaders opened the door to a multitude of demands that soon led to a reform program embracing many segments of the economic, political, cultural, and sociological fields. Basic to all these reforms was the demand that restrictions be placed on the power of the Communist Party and that the all-pervasive nature of political considerations in policy decisions be eliminated (see ch. 7, Political Dynamics and Values).

The Communist Party grudgingly initiated many of the liberal reform measures in various aspects of society over the next five years. By 1967, however, it became evident that obstructionist tactic used by Novotny prevented any real reform under his leadership, and he was replaced by Dubcek, a Slovak and a moderate liberal. Dubcek attempted to reconcile the aspirations of the Czechoslovak people with the concern that the Soviet Union quickly showed in the possible consequences of the reforms. Any liberalization of communist control in Czechoslovakia was not only a threat to the security of the Warsaw Pact countries but was also an indirect challenge to the power base of the Soviet Union. The final solution to the Czechoslovak problem, as applied by the Soviets in August 1968, was military intervention, elimination of all reforms, and the reestablishment of the Communist Party in full control backed up by occupation troops (see ch. 7, Political Dynamics and Values).

CHAPTER 4

THE SOCIAL SETTING

In early 1970 Czechs and Slovaks constituted over 94 percent of the 14.5 million inhabitants of Czechoslovakia. All minority groups together constituted less than 6 percent, as compared to 39 percent before World War II. The ethnic composition of the country underwent major changes in the postwar era as the very large German population was almost completely expelled. A population exchange with Hungary brought Slovaks into the country as Hungarians departed, and the cession of the province of Ruthenia to the Soviet Union reduced the minority problem that had existed in eastern Slovakia. The result was a more homogeneous population and the elimination of many political and social problems caused by an ethnically diverse society.

Relations between the various ethnic groups in 1971 were colored by their historical experience. Resentment of centuries of domination was reflected in the attitudes of Czechs and Slovaks toward Germans and Hungarians. Friction that had developed between Czechs and Slovaks stemmed mostly from Slovak resentment of alleged Czech domination after the creation of the Czechoslovak state in 1918 (see ch. 3, Historical Setting). The creation in 1968 of a federation consisting of two equal republics, Czech and Slovak, was intended to alleviate resentment and provide greater autonomy to the Slovak minority (see ch. 6, Governmental System).

After the communist coup in 1948, Czechoslovak society was subjected to pressures, legal and otherwise, that were intended to transform its traditional structure and values into a new socialist system. The government, by confiscating the property of the old upper and middle classes and by denying their children access to higher education, succeeded in destroying the traditional means of perpetuating class influence (see ch. 5, Cultural Development). Property and wealth as determinants of social status were replaced by political loyalty and power and education.

The new society that was created is, in theory, classless. In practice, however, it is divided into three groups: the ruling communist elite; a group composed of technocrats, members of the bureaucracy, and intellectuals; and the workers and peasants. The social distance is great between these groups, and the top party stratum, in particular, is as exclusive and privileged as the former upper class. Social

advancement is possible, however, through education and political loyalty—the latter being the final determinant.

The traditional role of the family as the basic educating and socializing unit has been weakened partly by design and partly as a normal consequence of industrialization and urbanization. Since the heavy demands for manpower during World War II, large numbers of women have been entering the labor force. This has blurred the traditional division of labor within the family and has relegated many of the educative functions of parents to child care institutions. The trend has been encouraged by the authorities because it facilitated their efforts in transforming society.

Inculcating children and young people with the proper ideals has been an important component in the transformation of the society; therefore, great emphasis is placed on youth organizations and youth activities in order to maximize their exposure to approved ideology and to restrict other influences.

The changed society has brought some changes in values. Bureaucratization and socialization have reduced the importance of personal initiative and personal accomplishment as values among the vast majority of people who are not political activists. The status and well-being of an individual is determined less by diligence or excellence of performance than by political affiliations; therefore, he has little reason to strive for them. Instead, he strives for security. The Czech emphasis on compromise in relations between individuals and groups has facilitated adjustment to the new system. The traditional value placed on individualism, however, has sparked periodic rebellion against conformity, such as that of the writers and artists in 1968.

Slovak values differ somewhat from those of the Czechs. Slovaks place greater emphasis on emotion than on intellect. They like to enjoy life and do not object to extremes in ideas and actions. Egalitarianism, highly valued by the Czechs, is of less importance to the Slovaks, who had been conditioned by centuries of feudal life under the Hungarians.

The standard of living in 1971 was second only to that of the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) among communist countries. A critical shortage of adequate housing continued to be the main problem, although shortages of consumer goods were also frequent. These shortages and a favorable relationship between prices and wages were reflected in a high rate of personal savings. The level of health and sanitation has been traditionally high among Czechoslovaks. The ratio of medical facilities and personnel to population in the late 1960s was third highest in the world. Health services were free to almost all of the population. The government administered a comprehensive system of social insurance that included health benefits, family allowances, disability benefits, old

age pensions, and others. Some were financed in part by worker contributions, but most of the funds came from the state.

ETHNIC COMPOSITION

Two closely related ethnic groups made up the vast majority of the population in 1971. The Czechs constituted almost 65 percent of the population and inhabited Bohemia and western Moravia. The Slovaks, with about 30 percent of the population, inhabited Slovakia and eastern Moravia.

Since the mass expulsion of Germans and the cession of Ruthenia after World War II, ethnic minorities have been small in size (see ch. 3, Historical Setting). Together they constituted under 6 percent of the population in 1971, as compared to 39 percent in the 1930s. The largest single minority group was the Hungarian, concentrated in southern Slovakia and constituting about 3.9 percent of the total population. Other minorities included Germans, who were concentrated in the western part of Bohemia; Poles, in northern Moravia; Ruthenians (Ukrainians), in east Slovakia; and Gypsies, in southern Slovakia and parts of Bohemia.

Ethnic differences and, within the larger Czech and Slovak groups, regional differences are preserved through a variety of peasant costumes and distinct folksongs and dances. These, however, are disappearing from daily use and are perpetuated mainly by the many annual folk festivals.

The Czechs and the Slovaks

The Czechs and the Slovaks settled in their present lands somewhere between the middle of the fifth century and the beginning of the sixth century as part of the massive migrations of Slavic tribes into central and eastern Europe.

Their early history remains obscure and wrapped in legend, giving rise to various theories about their kinship or dissimilarity. Most writers on the subject and the Czechs and Slovaks themselves, however, recognize and accept the fact that there is a great cultural and linguistic affinity between the two groups. Some claim that this affinity is greater than that between any other two Slavic groups.

What cultural differences do exist between the two can be traced to differences in historical development following the Magyar invasion in the late ninth century and Slovakia's subsequent incorporation into the Hungarian state. At the time of the Magyar invasion, Slovaks and Czechs were part of the Moravian Empire and shared a common culture, which included Christianity and the use of Old Church Slavonic as their literary language (see ch. 3, Historical Setting).

The development of two distinct written languages and two literatures is relatively recent. In the late fourteenth century religious reformer Jan Hus unified and simplified the various Czech dialects and developed a standard form based on the Prague dialect. Czech supplanted Old Church Slavonic as the literary language and was used by both Czechs and Slovaks until the nineteenth century, when Ludovit Stur developed an orthography for the central Slovak dialect and gave it status as a separate language. The 1960 Constitution recognized Czech and Slovak as distinct but equal languages and authorized both for documents and official business.

During centuries of foreign rule, influential individuals among both Czechs and Slovaks worked to unite the two peoples whom they thought of as one nation. Union was conceived as a means of preserving cultural identity and gaining economic and political independence. When the aspiration was realized in 1918 with the creation of Czechoslovakia, existing social and economic conditions and government policy during the interwar period brought into play a tendency toward ethnic differentiation that often overshadowed the deeper feelings of cultural affinity.

In 1918 Czechs were numerically stronger, economically more developed, and politically and socially more sophisticated than the Slovaks. From the time of medieval Bohemia they had been known for their manufacturing and trading based on the variety of natural resources in their land. By 1918 they had laid the foundation for an industrial and urban society and, through having access to education, even though it was not in their own language, they had developed an educated class capable of leadership in all aspects of life. In addition, during the last decades of Habsburg rule, they were able to participate in the process of government and gain political experience.

The Slovaks, however, were a society of peasants and minor gentry in 1918. Education was available to few Slovaks, and the Hungarian system of government had given them little political experience. In contrast to the Czechs, whose manufacturing and trading activities had brought them into contact with the outside world, the Slovaks concentrated their attention on the land and local communities and were little affected by developments in other parts of the world.

This disparity caused friction and resentment. The Czechs could not comprehend the Slovaks. Czech teachers and government officials who were stationed in Slovakia in order to bolster the Slovak educated class often tried to impose their ideas and life-styles on the local population. Slovak peasants distrusted them and were offended by their anticlerical attitudes. Gradually, most Czechs and Slovaks began thinking of themselves as two distinct groups rather than as one nation. This thinking was strengthened by the existence of the Nazi-sponsored Slovak state from 1939 to 1945. When the country was reunited in 1945, a majority of its inhabitants supported the idea of a

union of two peoples rather than the reunion of one nation, as it had been seen by those Czechs and Slovaks who were responsible for the formation of the republic in 1918 (see ch. 3, Historical Setting).

The extensive social changes that have taken place since the end of World War II have partly overshadowed ethnic antagonisms. Open hostility between Czechs and Slovaks has been limited to party and government circles, where it takes the form of power struggles. Traditional attitudes persist, however, and mutual distrust remains evident in many articles in the press.

Ethnic Minorities

As part of the Constitutional Law of 1968, the National Assembly passed an amendment to the 1960 Constitution guaranteeing members of Hungarian, Polish, German, and Ruthenian minorities equal status with that of other citizens and entitling them to specific rights as minorities. The amendment was of particular significance to the German group, which had been ignored in the 1960 Constitution. The minorities to which it is applicable, however, do not include Gypsies, who have no legal status as an ethnic minority group.

The specific minority group rights provided by the 1968 law include the right to cultural development, the right to education in minority group languages, the right to form cultural and social organizations, the right to operate press and other public information media, and the right to use minority group languages in official contacts within the areas inhabited by the minority. In addition to these cultural rights, Hungarians, Germans, Poles, and Ruthenians were also given the right to representation in representative bodies and elected organs proportionate to their numerical strength.

The minority problem was eliminated after World War II through large-scale population exchanges with Hungary and Germany. The sudden loss of so many people, however, created serious labor shortages at a time of postwar reconstruction (see ch. 3, Historical Setting). Efforts were also made to thin out the concentration of Hungarians in southern Slovakia by resettling some of them in Bohemia on land vacated by departing Germans. In 1971 there were no indications of serious friction between Czechs and Slovaks and the various national minorities, although some of the old suspicions and resentments were still at work in personal attitudes and relations.

The Gypsy population of Czechoslovakia in the late 1960s was variously estimated to be between 220,000 and 300,000. Some sources claimed this to be the largest Gypsy population in any one country. It was mostly concentrated in Slovakia, but increasing numbers of Gypsies were being settled as industrial workers in western Bohemia under a government resettlement program.

The Gypsies have their own culture, traditions, and language, but government laws and policy, although acknowledging certain differences, do not extend to them the special rights and guarantees afforded to other minorities. Government policy toward Gypsies since 1948, as expressed in law and practice, has fluctuated from completely ignoring their existence as a group to actively seeking to integrate them into the life of the country.

In the late 1960s reports in the press indicated a growing official and popular concern about Gypsies and their role in the national society. Despite a high infant mortality rate and a short life expectancy, the growth rate of the Gypsy population has been more than twice the national rate.

Most Gypsies, although now more sedentary than nomadic, continue to live their traditional life-styles, working at odd jobs only when they need money. Their standard of living is low and many depend on welfare programs. Health and sanitation levels are also low and contrast sharply with the high level of health and cleanliness of the remainder of the population. Few Gypsy children attend school and even fewer complete primary education. Press reports in the late 1960s indicated that a growing number of Gypsies would like to exchange their traditional life-style for integration into the national society but find it difficult to do so. In order to further the integration of Gypsies into Czechoslovak society, a number of prominent, acculturated Gypsies formed the Union of Gypsies in Slovakia in 1969. Specifically, the union sought the establishment of special kindergartens for Gypsy children where they would be taught hygiene and nutrition and the Slovak language. A number of such schools were already operating in 1969 with considerable success.

THE SOCIAL SYSTEM

The Family

The function and stability of the family have undergone changes since World War II. Traditionally, Czechoslovaks placed great emphasis on the family as the basic social unit, which gave identity and security to the individual and furthered the values of society. Family cohesion was great, and close relations were maintained with parents, siblings, and first cousins. Changing life-styles, particularly among urban families, loosened the cohesion.

A large number of women employed outside the home have little time for family matters; children spend most of their time in schools and youth organization activities. Thus, members of the family spend less time together within a household and even less time with other relatives. The result has been a shift of emphasis in daily life from the

family to the outside world. The family, however, continues to be the focus of rural life, and members work together and have common interests and ideals.

In mid-1970 families generally tended to be small, having no more than two children. Slovak families were, on the average, larger than Czech families. The higher educational level of women has also affected family size, as those with higher education have fewer children. The number of abortions increased rapidly in the 1960s. Government statistics for the Slovak republic showed 42 abortions for each 100 live births in the first half of 1970 for the republic as a whole and 107 abortions for each 100 live births in Bratislava.

The low birth rate has been of considerable concern to the government, which is trying to stimulate population growth through steeply progressive allowances for children, lump-sum payments for the birth of any child after the second, liberal maternity leave for working mothers, and housing preferences for larger families. A survey completed in 1970 by the Institute of Demography of the Federal Statistical Office to determine the effectiveness of these measures found that they have induced few parents to have larger families. They have, however, reduced the number of abortions and thus slightly increased the birth rate.

Studies of newlyweds, conducted on a continuing basis since 1963 by the National Population Commission, have shown that many couples plan to have no children at all. The reasons given by surveyed couples for wanting few or no children are the lack of adequate housing and the sharp drop in per capita income and sharp rise in expenditures with each succeeding child. Mothers of more than two children find it impractical as well as undesirable to work in order to supplement the family income.

Marriage in 1971 was a secular matter. Although religious ceremonies were frequent, they had to be preceded by a civil marriage. Men usually married between the ages of twenty and thirty; and women, between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four. Both partners had equal rights and obligations under law, and a woman was allowed to use either her husband's name or her maiden name. Unmarried mothers and their children had the same status under law as married mothers. Divorce was easily obtained without court action, and the divorce rate was growing steadily. A corresponding rise in single parent households was also noticeable. The severe housing shortage in large cities sometimes forced the existence of households in which a divorced person shared living quarters with both the present spouse and past spouse and children.

Families in which the father is the undisputed head and the wife and children are subordinate are rare and are encountered mostly among Slovak Catholic peasants. In most families the husband and wife are partners whose relationship is based on cooperation and

mutual respect. The husband is the titular head of the family who represents it in the outside world, but within the family he customarily consults with his wife on almost all matters.

Ideally, the husband provides for the family and protects it from the outside world, whereas the wife concerns herself with keeping house and raising children. In carrying out her responsibilities, the wife seldom delegates responsibility or depends on outside assistance. The wife cares for the children, disciplines them, and educates them into their roles as adult members of society. Fathers generally give little time and attention to their children other than acting as the ultimate disciplinarian.

In practice, the roles of husband and wife were no longer as clearly differentiated in 1971. Close to 50 percent of women were employed at least part time and had assumed some of their husband's responsibilities as provider for the family. At the same time, they had relinquished some of their former functions in the household and responsibilities with respect to children, some of which have been taken over by husbands and some by outside institutions. The loss of monopoly in rearing children has fundamentally affected the role of the family in the second half of the twentieth century.

Because of their relative age and experience, a father and mother enjoy obedience and respect from their children. The mother usually spends more time with the children than the father. Girls are usually closer to the family than boys, who are less controlled by the parents and have fewer family responsibilities. Children are encouraged to be self-reliant and independent and are expected to live up to their parents' expectations.

Social Structure

Distinctions between social classes have always been less clearly delineated among Czechs than among Slovaks. Czechs are frequently described as the typical bourgeois, hard-working, thrifty individuals who take pride in their work and love their families. Instances of extreme wealth and extreme poverty have been rare; the vast majority of Czechs occupied the middle section of the social scale, and the divisions between lower, middle, and upper classes were blurred. Czech attitudes toward social stratification had been a mixture of egalitarianism and consciousness of rank. The egalitarian attitude, stronger in the lower classes, was nurtured by the absence of any distinct social divisions. This same lack of distinct groups also promoted a consciousness of rank, manifested primarily in the use of titles in addressing individuals. Only members of the working class or peasantry were addressed by their surnames; others were addressed as Mister Doctor, Mister Tailor, Mister Manager, Mister Grocer, and others. Even wives were addressed by their husbands' titles. The use

of titles continues in contemporary society, but the term *mister* has been replaced by *comrade*.

The relative poverty and low educational level of Slovak peasants and the persistence of feudal traditions until recent times gave rise to much more distinct social classes among the Slovaks. The middle class was more recent in origin and smaller and more exclusive than the Czech. Its members looked down on those who worked with their hands to earn a living. Class consciousness was extremely strong among the people of the middle and upper classes, who openly displayed their status. Nevertheless, there was a touch of romantic glamour in thinking of those who till the land as being the backbone of the nation.

Until World War II the social structure was relatively stable and characterized by the absence of any real antagonism between the classes. Antagonism and conflict between social groups took the form of ethnic hostility, rural-urban competition, and occupational particularism. They operated in the economic and political arena through pressure groups and political parties but without any social disruptions.

World War II ended the previous social stability and initiated changes that were followed by a new social structure under communism. The changes were brought about by German harnessing of Czechoslovak industrial potential for the war machine and affected mainly Czech society. The emphasis on industrial production transformed what was formerly an industrial-agricultural society into a predominantly industrial society. Thousands of people were shifted from other occupations into industry, and the structure of industry itself was changed from a multitude of predominantly small- and middle-size enterprises into large government-controlled combines. These shifts were accompanied by a replacement of Czech industrialists and entrepreneurs by German managers. The result was a serious decline of the upper class, not only in terms of wealth and power but also in numbers; the transformation of the middle class from small-scale entrepreneurs to bureaucrats; and a shrinking of the agricultural segment of the lower class in favor of the industrial segment.

The transformation of the social structure, which began during World War II, continued with greater intensity after the communist takeover in 1948. A postwar land reform and the expropriation of wartime collaborators and expelled Germans and Hungarians further shrank the propertied upper class. A decree of 1948, nationalizing all industrial and commercial enterprises and all landholdings over fifty hectares (123.5 acres), succeeded in eliminating this class completely. The entrepreneurial segment of the middle class was eliminated at the same time. Final expropriation of all classes came with the currency reform of 1953 that wiped out all savings and made

employment the only source of income. In the meantime, the small peasants, including those who received land allocations from the expropriated large estates, were being collectivized. Thus, by the mid-1950s the old social structure had been destroyed and replaced by a new one that consisted of social classes but with a new composition, new functions, new social justification, and different relative strength.

The ruling elite comprises the new upper class, which is composed of the top communist leadership in the party, in government, in mass organizations, and in various branches of the economy. The ruling elite's power is derived from approved ideological orientation and political manipulation. Educational qualifications and family background are important lower down on the social scale because they can determine whether or not an individual can gain access to the power that will admit him into the ruling elite. Most of the members of the ruling elite are of lower class background and are veterans of the communist movement in the interwar period.

The ruling elite, smaller than its predecessor, controls the means of production and the means of coercion and persuasion. Its life-style differs little from that of the former upper class but contrasts markedly with that of the rest of the people. The privileges enjoyed by the elite include the best housing, schools, clubs, resorts, travel, and the opportunity to buy goods not available to the rest of the population.

Below the ruling elite are technocrats, bureaucrats, and intellectuals—professionals, managers, technicians, and middle level party functionaries whose skill and talent are needed to run the society. Education and competence are usual criteria for membership in the group, as is ideological orthodoxy. Most members are relatively young, have an advanced education, and are loyal communist principles. Their social origins represent the entire spectrum of precommunist society, but a high percentage are of peasant or worker background, reflecting the educational advantages afforded the former lower classes (see ch. 5, Cultural Development). The life-style and aspirations are those of an industrial middle class. Members receive benefits and privileges commensurate with the importance of their occupations, and these vary considerably.

In terms of income, educational level, and standard of living, however, blue-collar workers, agricultural workers, and collective farmers continue to compose the lowest stratum of society. It is by far the largest group in contemporary society and includes many former members of the middle and upper classes whose property had been confiscated and whose privileges had been abolished. Despite its diversity in terms of social origin, education, and rural or urban orientation, the group exhibits a conscious social identity. Lacking

political power, it tries to exert its influence through passive resistance.

Upward social mobility in the contemporary social system is achieved mainly through education and political loyalty. Access to education beyond the required minimum, however, is strictly controlled. After their seizure of control in 1948, communist authorities tried to transform society by giving educational preference to members of the former lower class and frequently denying access to higher education to members of the former middle and upper classes. Thus a large number of persons from working class and peasant background moved up the social ladder until they constituted the majority of technical, professional, and bureaucratic personnel in the various sectors of the society.

The final determinant in upward mobility, however, is political loyalty. In the early years of communist rule, party functionaries, most of whom lacked specialized training, were put in charge of economic management and planning from the central government down to the individual production unit. By 1971 a sufficient number of trained specialists with dependable political loyalty were available. Political considerations, however, continue to be important factors in upward mobility. Access to higher education and to higher positions in government and industry is designed primarily to reward political faithfulness. Failure to live up to the expectations of the authorities results in political disgrace and partial or complete removal from the privileged status. Thus, economic security also is dependent on political loyalty.

The Role of Women

The role of women in the family and in society has traditionally been one of partnership with men rather than subservience. Nevertheless, until World War II few women worked, except on the family land or in the family store. By 1968, however, 46 percent of the wage labor force was female.

The growing employment of women was accompanied by an increasing level of education among them and by a mushrooming of state-operated child care facilities. Public information media and schools have played up the new role for women as a desirable expression of their devotion to socialism and as a long overdue opening of new avenues of self-expression for them. Their roles as wives and mothers are presented as being important but not requiring full time and attention in this modern age of conveniences.

In 1971 women legally had complete political, social, and economic equality with men. Nevertheless, surveys have shown that women generally work at lower levels than their educational qualifications

merit and that their pay is not comparable to that of men in the same jobs.

A number of organizations worked for the advancement of the economic, political, and social interests of women in 1971. The Czechoslovak Union of Women worked toward achieving economic independence of women through a variety of programs. It campaigned for higher levels of education among women; promoted the establishment of more and better child care centers for working mothers; and was responsible in 1968 for obtaining an extension of maternity leave to twenty-six weeks for all working married mothers and thirty-one weeks for unmarried, widowed, and divorced mothers. Women were well represented in labor union councils, factory committees, cooperative councils, and in government bodies at various levels.

The Role of Youth

In their efforts to transform society and develop a new socialist man, the communist authorities have given major attention to the training and care of children and youth. Accompanying the expansion of educational opportunities, youth and sports organizations were established to provide a means for controlling and directing the leisure activities of young people and by doing so extend the ideological molding process. Although membership in these organizations has been voluntary, considerable pressure is exerted on young people and their families to join. The doors to institutions of higher education and those to positions of responsibility are closed to persons who have not been members of one of the approved youth organizations.

Organizations may be established only with the expressed approval of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (Komunisticka Strana Ceskoslovenska—KSC) and as components of the National Front (see ch. 7, Political Dynamics and Values). In 1971 the Czechoslovak Socialist Youth Union was the overall youth organization. It was formed in 1970 to supersede several youth organizations that had come into existence during the 1968 liberalization period. Patterned on the federal government organization, it encompassed two autonomous specialized organizations: the Pioneer Organization, for children under the age of fifteen, and the Union of University Students, for students at institutions of higher learning. Membership in the Socialist Youth Union proper was open to youths aged fifteen and over, including students in higher education. All three organizations had basically the same program, but each adapted it to the capabilities and interests of its own members. The program included physical education; arts and crafts; community projects; and, frequently, occupational training. Ideological indoctrination was

a major component of all activities. Youth organization activities were conducted in schools, special youth palaces, and factories and at collective farms and vacation camps.

A united physical culture organization controls and coordinates sports activities of youth as well as of adults. Sports have always been popular among Czechoslovaks, and sports clubs have flourished in the past. The Sokol clubs, which arose in the late nineteenth century, and played an important role in the movement for Czechoslovak self-determination, were basically sports clubs that assumed political significance because of their widespread popularity and influence.

Organized youth activities, particularly those involving sports and camping, are not new to Czechoslovak society. In addition to the Sokol clubs, which catered mostly to adults and to young adults, the scouting movement was popular among younger generations and had a brief revival in the form of Junak clubs during the liberalization period in 1968.

SOCIAL VALUES

The basic beliefs that determine the thoughts and actions of the people differ little from those of other central Europeans. Throughout their history, these peoples have been subjected to basically the same interplay of forces and ideas. Distinctions and differences in the values of the Czechs and the Slovaks, which derive from differences in historical experience, are similar to those of other Europeans with related histories. Since 1948 the Communists have made serious efforts to transform the society and its values, but the extent of their success is difficult to determine because observable changes could be interpreted merely as different manifestations of the same basic values.

Both personal and interpersonal values of the people of Czechoslovakia derive from their religious outlook and their historical experience. Concepts concerning human nature and man's place in the universe are not shaped entirely by Christian teachings. The majority of persons are at least nominal Christians, and most accept the ideas that human life is sacred, that the spirit is eternal, and that the universe is divinely ordered. Modern anti-Christian philosophies have had considerable influence in shaping values, particularly among the Czechs, who have been exposed to them for a much longer time than the Slovaks. The 1,000-year isolation of Slovakia from the main currents of Western intellectual and social development produced a conservative society with a deep devotion to Roman Catholicism.

The Czechs, as an urban, industrial people, have been largely indifferent to religion for many generations. This indifference was supplemented by a politically inspired anticlericalism directed at the

Church hierarchy that had been imposed by the Habsburg rulers. Agnosticism, atheism, nihilism, materialism, and existentialism all found fertile ground among the Czech middle and upper classes.

The difference in attitude toward religion has been one of the main sources of friction between Czechs and Slovaks. The frequent effort of individual Czechs to dispel, in their view, the superstitions and emotionally based beliefs of the Slovaks, with rational arguments offends Slovaks, who tend to think of Czechs as amoral.

Individual Values

Reason is highly valued by the Czechs, who feel that human thought and activity should be guided by reason rather than by emotion. Sentiment and emotion are seldom shown or expressed openly. Knowledge and learning are also highly valued. Education is eagerly pursued. Intellectual and cultural activity is stressed by all segments of the population. The Slovaks place much less emphasis on intellect and reason, choosing to rely more on intuition and emotion.

Interpersonal Relations and Social Values

Relations between individuals are based on mutual respect, comradeship, and compromise but also on keen competition for status. In striving for excellence in whatever he does, an individual tries to do better than others and looks for recognition of his accomplishments. The status achieved, however, is one of prominence among equals.

The Czechs, in particular, are very egalitarian in their outlook. Class distinctions have not been great in their society, and extremes in wealth or poverty were rare. The vast majority of Czechs since at least the middle of the nineteenth century have been middle class. Their egalitarianism is expressed in a much-quoted proverb "Ja pan, ty pan" (I am a gentleman, you are a gentleman) and through widespread criticism of persons who acquire prominence or leadership. Czech egalitarianism, however, does not preclude a certain class consciousness. The use of titles rather than names when addressing individuals is a form of recognition of accomplishment.

The Slovaks tend to be quite status conscious in their interpersonal relations. The Slovak hierarchical view of society was influenced by the structure of the Roman Catholic Church, which has played a major role in the life of the people throughout history.

The middle-class nature of Czech society has endowed it with values typical of a middle class. The recent growth of the Slovak middle class has extended this value system to the Slovaks, but because of their newness, the values are not so strongly held as by the Czechs. Basic to this value system is the ideal of economic

independence—a desire for status and security achieved through the acquisition of material possessions. In the traditional society owning property—be it land, a factory, a store, or just consumer goods—not only provided an individual and his family with security but also attested to his hard work, diligence, and abilities.

The importance of security and status is such that few individuals are willing to do things that might risk losing them. Thus, stoicism, compliance, and compromise are widely considered as typical characteristics of the Czechs and, to a lesser degree, of the Slovaks. They are all embodied in the character of the Good Soldier Schweik, a character in a novel by Czech author Jaroslav Hasek. Schweik has become the symbol of the Czech man and illustrates that decisive action is usually taken for defensive, rather than for offensive, purposes. Czechs have at various times in history fought against injustice and repression, but the fight was conducted through passive resistance and sabotage rather than open rebellion. During the tense and difficult period after the Soviet invasion in 1968, Czechoslovaks made frequent references to three national heroes—Jan Hus, Jan Masaryk, and Jan Palach—as martyrs to freedom and justice.

The social and economic changes that have been put into effect since 1948 have affected some of the traditional values. Property can no longer be a determinant of status and security, although the acquisition of consumer goods remains important. In a bureaucratic society in which political considerations govern all matters, such qualities as diligence, excellence, and personal initiative have lost their value except in the attainment of political goals. The search for security, however, continues. More than ever before, Czechoslovaks seem to be willing to compromise and adapt, displaying their opposition only through cynicism and passiveness.

LIVING CONDITIONS

Standard of Living

In mid-1971 the standard of living of the population as a whole was among the highest in communist countries, surpassed only by that of East Germany. Nevertheless, some groups, such as pensioners and peasants in remote areas of Slovakia, lived at subsistence level.

Heavy emphasis on the so-called productive branches of the economy and, within those, on production of capital goods, have resulted in frequent shortages of consumer goods and services. In addition, the poor selection and quality of the goods and services available have been the subject of complaint on the part of officials and of the public. Even so, preliminary results of the 1970 census reported that 73 percent of households had television sets, 69 percent

had electric washing machines, 61 percent had electric refrigerators, 51 percent had vacuum cleaners, and 17 percent had automobiles.

Although prices of consumer goods and services rose in the late 1960s and early 1970, there was a comparable rise in wages. Personal savings were consistently high, reflecting both a favorable ratio between income and prices and a lack of desirable consumer goods and services. The goods that were available frequently did not satisfy the sophisticated tastes and demands for quality of most consumers.

There has been a housing shortage for some time in all urban areas. The shortage was created primarily by two factors: the rapid rate of urbanization, which brings a continual influx of new residents into the large cities and expanding industrial centers; and a failure of the government to allocate sufficient resources for the construction of new housing and the maintenance of existing units. The result has been overcrowding and lack of privacy. Except among the privileged strata, close to one-half of urban households shared a single housing unit with one or more other households. Those who have their own apartments are frequently crowded into single rooms or have made apartments out of storage areas or other spaces not intended for human habitation.

Most new housing is constructed by local government units and housing cooperatives. Private construction for commercial purposes is permitted, and the state provides twenty- to thirty-year loans to encourage private investment. Local government housing is mostly for low income families. Housing cooperatives are founded by employees of an enterprise or by groups of residents in large cities. State subsidies and bank credit are available to housing cooperatives. Financial assistance in the form of loans is available from the state also for modernization of existing housing. Goals for housing construction have been set in all economic plans but have never been fulfilled. As a nonproductive branch of the economy, housing needs have always been relegated to the bottom of the list of priorities.

Preliminary results of the 1970 census showed some improvement in the housing situation since 1961. The number of available housing units increased by 10.7 percent, whereas the population increased only by 4.5 percent. The number of rooms per apartment increased from 1.77 in 1961 to 2.12 in 1970, and the floor space, excluding kitchen and bathroom, increased from 373.59 square feet in 1961 to 424.95 square feet in 1970. Although the number of persons per apartment dropped only slightly—from 3.58 to 3.38—the apartments were larger and provided more space for each person. These figures, however, do not give a true picture because they include the large, spacious residences of the privileged elite in the national average.

The 1970 census also indicated that 29 percent of the housing in 1970 had central heating, compared with 8 percent in 1961, and 57 percent had a bathtub or shower, compared with 33 percent in 1961.

Housing is allocated on the basis of waiting lists. Government housing is assigned by a commission of the national committee and is open to anyone. Cooperative housing is available to members of the cooperative and usually has lower rents because the occupant has invested in its construction. Private housing is subject to market forces. Most housing committees or commissions have long waiting lists for available housing, and assignments are made on the basis of family size and income. Federal regulations specify certain categories of individuals as entitled to priority in housing allocation. These include party and government functionaries; government employees; prominent persons in the arts, sciences and sports; and parents of multiple offspring produced at one birth. Individual enterprises frequently use the availability of housing as a lure to attract the best workers and professionals. Those who have no claim to preferential housing assignment often resort to bribery, according to reports in the Czechoslovak press.

Health and Sanitation

Cleanliness and good health are a national tradition among the Czechoslovaks. Public health laws governing disposal of waste, potability of water supplies, cleanliness and freshness of food, and control of contagious disease have been enforced since before the turn of the twentieth century. Life expectancy in 1967 was 67.4 years for men and 73.7 years for women. Men were expected to live one year longer in the Slovak Socialist Republic than in the Czech Socialist Republic.

Among the major contagious diseases, only scarlet fever, infectious hepatitis, and tuberculosis had more than a nominal rate of incidence in 1968. The principal causes of death were diseases of the circulatory system, including heart attacks; cancer; diseases of the respiratory system; and accidents and suicides.

The daily per capita caloric intake was around 3,100 calories in the late 1960s. The diet tends to be heavy in starches and fats, particularly among peasants. Consumption of meats and vegetables, however, is adequate except at occasional times of shortage and high prices.

The public health system closely resembles that of all communist countries. Ideally, it provides extensive health, medical, dental, and hospitalization coverage from birth to death. It is administered by the Ministry of Health in each of the two constituent republics; the ministries are directly responsible for research institutes, spas, and special clinics and supervise and direct health activities on the regional and district levels.

The lowest level of the health system--the one that deals most directly with the public—is the district national health institute. It

consists of at least one hospital, polyclinics, special clinics, pharmacies, and related facilities. The extent and quality of medical service provided by the national health institutes varied considerably in the various districts. An official of the Slovak government complained in early 1970 that none of the institutes in Slovakia could provide complete medical care for all of its constituents because it lacked facilities and personnel in one or more of the branches of medicine.

Free medical care is available to all employed persons, apprentices, students, and members of cooperatives and their families. This includes drugs, but a nominal charge is made for the writing of a prescription.

In 1968 the country had 32,179 fully qualified physicians—1 for every 447 inhabitants. This ratio was the third highest in the world. The quality and level of competence of these physicians were also among the highest in the world. According to numerous press reports, however, most doctors, particularly district physicians in the national health institutes, are burdened with excessive workloads. Some cannot devote more than five to ten minutes to each patient. Their heavy workload is, to a large extent, the result of bureaucratic procedures that require even the shortest absence from work for illness be certified by a physician if the worker is to receive paid sick leave. Thus, a doctor frequently spends more time certifying common colds or stomachaches than he does diagnosing and treating serious illnesses.

The ratio of hospital beds per inhabitant was also among the highest in the world. In 1968, 254 general hospitals had a total of 114,199 beds—approximately 1 bed per 126 inhabitants. These hospital facilities were supplemented by specialized clinics, sanatoriums, and other facilities. The number of hospitals and the number of beds have remained fairly stable since 1960 (see table 3).

Outpatient services and preventive medicine are provided by polyclinics and health centers, which are part of the district national health institutes. These facilities also provide dental care. They are frequently located in factories or in other places of employment.

Social Welfare

In addition to free medical service, all wage earners and members of agricultural cooperatives are entitled to a variety of welfare benefits based on average income and length and type of service. These include retirement pensions, disability pensions, widows' and orphans' pensions, health benefits, family allowances, and funeral expenses. Benefits are financed from state funds and are administered by local national committees under the direction of the Ministry of

Table 5. Health Facilities in Czechoslovakia, 1968

Type of Facility	Number	Beds
General hospitals.....	254	114,199
Tuberculosis sanatoriums.....	38	8,681
Mental hospitals.....	32	16,743
Institutes:		
Endocrinological.....	1	142
Infants.....	33	2,310
Oncological.....	3	455
Rehabilitation.....	2	342
Children's convalescent homes.....	50	5,826
Night sanatoriums.....	4	175
Sanatoriums in spas.....	112	26,740
Maternity homes.....	14	253
Homes for children (under age three).....	46	2,391
Nurseries.....	1,643	67,582
Research institutes for preventive and therapeutic care.....	39	987
Health centers.....	15,962	0

Source: Adapted from *Statistical Abstract, Czechoslovakia*, Prague, 1970, pp. 101-104.

Labor and Social Affairs in each of the constituent republics. A contributory pension program is administered for the self-employed.

Since in theory a socialist state has no unemployment, there is no unemployment compensation. Workers who lose their jobs as a result of reorganization or liquidation of their place of employment are entitled to an allowance of up to 60 percent of average earnings for a period of six months and of up to 30 percent of average earnings for another six months while they look for new employment. The allowance is not payable to workers dismissed for cause or for "violating the socialist system by their activity." It is suspended if a worker refuses, without a reasonable excuse, to accept a job offered him.

To qualify for a retirement pension, a man must have reached the age of sixty; and a woman, age fifty-three to fifty-seven, depending on the number of children she has had; both must have completed twenty-five years of service. Minimum pensions equal 50 to 60 percent of average earnings during the last five or ten years of work, whichever is more favorable. A payment ceiling is specified by law but varies according to three categories of occupation based on the degree of hardship involved. Up to a certain level, which includes almost all of the average pensioners, pensions are tax free.

Disability pensions are based on a minimum of 50 percent of average earnings during the last five or ten years for ordinary disabilities and on 65 percent of average earnings for work-related disabilities. Pensions to widows are payable only for one year, unless

the recipients are disabled or have dependent children. They are equal to 70 percent of the pension due the worker at time of his death. Pensions for orphans are equal to 25 to 50 percent of the pension due the deceased parent.

Government statistics in 1968 reported over 3 million pension recipients. One official source said that one-fourth of the residents of Prague are pensioners. These and other official sources indicated that pensions were not adequate and that most pensioners lived at bare subsistence level. In 1968 pensions, which were the sole or main source of income, were raised, and an across-the-board raise was planned for all minimum pensions.

Health benefits include compensation during illness and maternity benefits. Compensation during illness is based on 50 to 70 percent of average net earnings for the first three days of incapacity and 60 to 90 percent of average net earnings thereafter. These benefits are also extended for three to six days to workers attending to a sick member of the family. Maternity benefits include a flat sum payment at the birth of a child to a working woman or wife of a worker, and paid maternity leave for twenty-six weeks based on 60 to 90 percent of average net earnings, depending on length of service. Maternity leave is granted up to one year by the employer at the request of the mother and is compensated on the basis of 40 to 60 percent of average earnings after the first twenty-six weeks.

Other welfare benefits include flat sum grants for family allowances and for funeral expenses for workers or members of their families. The family allowances are paid for children until they leave school and for students until the age of twenty-five. They are figured in proportion to the worker's income and increase sharply with each additional child in order to encourage larger families. Large families are also entitled to tax reductions, rent reductions, and reduced child care fees. Subsidized school lunches are also provided.

CHAPTER 5

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Education, religion, and artistic and intellectual expression have played major roles in the development of modern Czechoslovakia. The people are proud of their cultural heritage and feel that their cultural development contributed to the survival of their national identity during several centuries of foreign domination. As in other communist countries, the regime has been well aware of the importance of education, religion, and the arts and has sought to control and direct cultural development for the achievement of its own political goals.

The school system was revised soon after the communist takeover to enable it to fulfill its dual function of inculcating youth with socialist ideals and of training specialists for the economy. Heavy emphasis was placed on scientific and technical studies and on vocational training. Political indoctrination permeated all subjects. Admission to higher education was made responsive to government aims, and political consideration took precedence over educational qualifications in determining admission.

The great majority of the population belonged to the Roman Catholic Church in 1971. Membership in the Protestant churches was estimated to be between 1 million and 1.5 million. The Czechoslovak National Church, founded in 1920, had an estimated membership of between 500,000 and 750,000 and has been a considerable force in national life.

Relations between church and state have been strained since the communist takeover. Tensions arise from the government's support of atheism as the official philosophy and from its harsh restriction of the church and clergy in the exercise of their functions. Despite the restrictions and the effort to replace religious values with atheistic values through the educational system, religious faith remains strong. Some observers feel that it may be stronger now than ever before. A high government official stated in an article in 1971 that religion continues to have an impact on at least 60 percent of the population, and a survey in Slovakia in 1968 showed that almost 80 percent of the 1,400 persons questioned classified themselves as believers, and only 14 percent, as atheists. Even among young people who have been most subjected to antireligious indoctrination, religious feeling was strong in 1971. Church marriages were frequent, and religious services were crowded with young and old alike.

The traditionally high value placed on cultural and scholarly pursuits by the majority of the population has been utilized by the government to further its aims. The arts have been largely subsidized, and the government has tried to make them accessible to the greatest number of people. The form, content, and style of artistic and intellectual expression, however, have been at most times carefully controlled. Except during the early and middle 1960s, the arts have had to conform to the demands of the style known as socialist realism. Art has had to glorify socialism and further its cause. As a result, much of contemporary artistic expression lacks individuality, imagination, and vitality.

EDUCATION

Education has a long tradition of high esteem among the Czechs and the Slovaks. It was knowledge and skill that made the Bohemians sought after throughout medieval Europe, and it was education in their own language and culture that sparked the national revival of the two peoples in the nineteenth century, that eventually led to independence. Czechoslovaks are proud to have in their country one of the oldest universities in Europe, Charles University, and to have produced John Comenius, the seventeenth century theologian and educator, who is widely regarded as one of the fathers of modern education.

The emphasis on education as a value in itself was reflected in high rates of literacy and school attendance, a concern for self-education, and the prestige enjoyed by scholars and teachers. Compulsory public education dates back to 1869 in the Czech lands, although it is of more recent origin in Slovakia. The schools sought to produce a well-rounded, educated, and cultured citizen rather than a specialist, and the structure and curriculum reflected that aim.

Educational Policy since 1948

The educational system underwent major changes in structure, curriculum, and philosophy after the communist takeover in 1948. Schools were viewed by the government as having two functions: to train the specialists needed by the economy and to inculcate the young with the ideological orientation of a socialist society. In order to accomplish these aims the system was restructured to conform to the Soviet model, and options as to the kind of education available after the compulsory minimum were restricted and subjected to strict political control. Vocational education and periods of practical work in factories or on farms were made compulsory in all schools. Textbooks and syllabi were rewritten to make them conform

ideologically and to glorify the history of the communist movement. Marxism-Leninism and the history and structure of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (Komunisticka Strana Ceskoslovenska—KSC) were also made separate compulsory subjects at all levels.

Admission to secondary and higher education was determined by the anticipated manpower needs of the economy. Annual and long-range economic plans set the number of students to be educated for a particular occupation, and quotas were assigned for each school and each course of study. Within the quota, admission was determined by the political orientation and social origin of the applicant. Only students with proven sympathies for the regime were considered, and preference was given first to children of party members and then to children of working class and peasant origin—those whose parents were members of the precommunist lower class—regardless of academic qualifications.

The duration of study at secondary and higher schools was reduced, and students were admitted at a lower age than before. In order to reduce the time of study, emphasis was placed on occupational training and ideological orientation, and so-called superfluous subjects were eliminated. The result was a lowering of the standards of education and narrow specialization.

By 1960 it was evident that the new school system was not producing graduates of the kind and quality needed for the functioning of the society. The structure of the system and the curriculum, therefore, underwent several changes in the early 1960s that reintroduced some aspects of the precommunist system and provided for a broader basic education for all and greater differentiation between pure vocational training and a higher level of general and technical education.

The structural changes, however, did not alter the basic aims of education. Admission to schools beyond the compulsory level continued to be planned by the Ministry of Education on the basis of expected manpower needs, despite repeated public complaints that the plans were unrealistic and based on inadequate appreciation of real needs. Emphasis on occupation-oriented education continues, and courses in science and technology are heavily favored in the allocation of student quotas.

The Education Law of 1960 specified that education should be based on a Marxist scientific concept of the world and, more particularly, on dialectic materialism. The emphasis on ideological indoctrination had been reduced in the 1960s in favor of a broader education that even included some discussion of alternative ideologies and systems. With the return of political orthodoxy after the Soviet invasion in 1968, however, the earlier emphasis on the political role of schools was reimposed.

Directives of both Czech and Slovak ministries of education in 1970 and 1971 defined the principal role of education as that of training specialists who have accepted socialist ideological orientation and will use their talents to further the aims of socialism in all fields of endeavor. Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism again became a decisive criterion for admission to secondary and higher institutions. School authorities have also been ordered to give preference in admission to children of loyal party members and to those of proletarian origin, regardless of educational qualifications, and to deny admission to children whose family background might predispose them to nonsocialist thinking.

The events of the 1960s, which culminated in the reform regime of Alexander Dubcek, clearly showed the ineffectiveness of the political indoctrination in the schools. Students and teachers were strongly represented among those who exerted the most pressure for reform and who were most vocal in expressing unorthodox political and economic views. Major blame for the failure of effective indoctrination was placed on the teachers; therefore, a massive purge was undertaken at all levels during the so-called normalization period of 1969 and 1970. Sources differ on the number of teachers and professors who were dismissed from their posts or forced to retire, but the number is believed to be over 300. One source estimates that 12 percent of the total teaching staff of the Czech Socialist Republic underwent some form of disciplinary action. Up to 80 percent of all teachers in the country were reassigned to new schools in order to destroy any undesirable ideological bonds they may have established with their students.

The School System

In mid-1971 the school system consisted of four levels: kindergarten, primary, secondary, and higher. Attendance at primary school was compulsory for all children between the ages of six and fifteen; attendance at all other levels was voluntary and, except in kindergarten, selective. Special schools for the mentally and physically handicapped existed at the first three levels. All schools were state institutions; tuition, books, and other school materials were free at all levels. A large number of scholarships sponsored by the republican governments, local governments, labor unions, enterprises, and other organizations were available to students in secondary and higher schools to cover living expenses and other needs.

The ministries of education in both republics operated low-cost boarding houses, hostels and canteens for students at secondary and higher institutions. Facilities, however, have been far too few to meet the demand, and the authorities have consistently been under pressure to expand them. A major student riot in late 1967 started as

a protest against inadequate living facilities for university students in Prague (see ch. 7, Political Dynamics and Values). The Five Year Plan for 1971-75 has allotted Kc262 million (1 koruna equals US\$0.14 at the official rate of exchange—see Glossary) for construction of new student hostels and canteens.

Kindergartens and primary schools provided meals for children of working mothers and for those children who did not live near enough to have lunch at home. Other special services available to schoolchildren and students were free medical care, reduced fare on all public transportation, and free or low-cost vacations at student homes in resort areas.

After the government was reorganized along federal lines, administration and control of education became the responsibility of the Ministry of Education in each republic. Formerly, a central Ministry of Education and Culture administered a unified education system throughout the country. Division of administrative authority, however, did not alter the unified nature of the school system. Educational policy is formulated by the central organs of the communist party and is implemented in a similar manner by both republics. Primary and secondary schools are established and administered by the local national committees, which operate within the confines of directives from the republic Ministry of Education. Higher schools are under the direct jurisdiction of the minister of education who, either directly or through the Higher Schools' Council, appoints faculty and staff and determines the structure of these institutions. Parent-teacher associations attached to primary and secondary schools serve to acquaint the authorities with the needs and desires of the population.

The school year runs from September to June and is divided into two semesters. Since September 1968 classes have been held five days a week.

Preschool Education

Preschool education serves the dual purpose of caring for children of working mothers and of inculcating at an early age the desired social and political attitudes. Although preschool education is voluntary, it has received considerable attention from the communist regime. It is carried out through nurseries or crèches for children up to the age of three and kindergartens for children aged three to six. The number of children attending these institutions has been increasing steadily since the early 1950s. During the 1966/67 school year, over 50 percent of the children aged three to five were in kindergarten. Official estimates anticipate that, by 1980, 80 percent of the children aged six months to three years will be in nurseries and 70 percent of all children aged three to five will be in kindergartens because their mothers will be working.

The majority of preschool institutions provide an all-day program to allow mothers to drop off their children on the way to work and to pick them up on the way home. Some have a special half-day program for children whose mothers work part time or do not work at all, and some have boarding facilities to accommodate children whose mothers work odd-hour shifts. In addition to caring for the physical needs of their charges, the institutions are also responsible for stimulating the children's social and intellectual development. The program for older children includes formal preparation for reading, writing, arithmetic, and other subjects taught in elementary school. The staff is specially trained at secondary and higher schools. The student-teacher ratio is between fifteen and twenty-five to one.

Primary Education

Primary education was provided in 1971 by the Basic Nine-Year School and was compulsory for all children between the ages of six and fifteen. Although attendance has been almost universal in the lower grades, close to 20 percent of the eligible children in the late 1960s dropped out before completing the program. Enrollment during the 1968/69 school year was 2,052,526 in 10,947 schools throughout the country. The language of instruction was either Czech or Slovak, depending on the mother tongue of the students. In areas where the population included large numbers of a minority group, special classes were organized using the minority language for instruction.

The Basic Nine-Year School is intended to provide all children with a fundamental general education and enough training in an occupational skill to enable them to enter the work force upon graduation. The Education Law of 1960 specified the following subjects as compulsory: mother tongue, literature, Russian language, civics, history, geography, mathematics, natural science, physics, chemistry, national culture, economics, physical education, art, music, writing, and handicrafts. The total program included periods of practical work in a factory or on a farm and sixteen hours of military training during each of the last three years (see ch. 13, Armed Forces). Special sections and schools for gifted students allowed them to concentrate on subjects for which they showed particular aptitude or interest. Slow students, on the other hand, were provided with remedial help.

A school-sponsored extracurricular program provided supervised sports, games, outings, and study periods for children of working mothers. Religious instruction was available after school hours for children whose parents requested it.

Promotion from one grade to another is based on year-end examinations. The failure rate in the higher grades was sufficiently high in the late 1960s that special finishing classes were established with reduced curricula to help failing students complete their primary education and reduce the rate of students leaving before graduation.

The majority of graduates of the Basic Nine-Year School either enter the work force or seek specific vocational training. Among those graduated in 1966, slightly over 18 percent continued their education in a general secondary school, which was the main avenue to higher education.

Secondary Education

Secondary education was in a state of flux in mid-1971. The structure that had existed since 1950 was altered in the 1968-69 reform period in an effort to upgrade the level of secondary education and make it more differentiated in order to better meet the requirements of the society. The changes, however, have come under fire since the ouster of the Dubcek government, and a return to the pre-1968 structure seemed imminent in mid-1971.

Broadly speaking, three avenues for advanced education were open to the primary school graduate: a general secondary education leading to further study at the university, a vocational secondary education leading to employment in middle-level technical positions or further study at a higher technical school, and apprentice training leading to qualification as a skilled worker and the possibility of advanced training.

General secondary education was provided after 1968 by four-year gymnasiums (high schools), which were the main avenue to higher education. Students could select a course either in the humanities or in the natural sciences. Approximately 60 percent of the students usually chose the science program. Upon completion of the course of study all students take a state examination known as the baccalaureate, or maturity examination, which must be passed in order to qualify for employment in middle-level positions or for admission to higher education. Those who fail the examination or who are not admitted to higher education for other reasons can take special vocational courses to qualify as technicians.

Before 1968 general secondary education lasted only three years. The course was divided into a humanities stream and a sciences stream, as is that of the gymnasium, and also led to the state examination. Proponents of the gymnasium system stated that the program of the general secondary schools did not provide a broad enough and thorough enough education for its intended purposes. Opponents of the gymnasium system, on the other hand, consider it elitist and discriminatory in its selectiveness and emphasis on scholastic achievement.

Vocational secondary education is provided by a system of vocational secondary schools that offer a four-year program of combined general education and vocational training. The general education is usually given in the first two years, and the last two years are devoted to vocational education and practical work experience.

Students completing the course take a state examination similar to that following the general secondary course and equal to it in terms of certifying qualifications for employment and higher education. Approximately half of the students in secondary vocational schools in the late 1960s were girls. Between one-third and one-half of the students were employed while attending school and were released from their jobs to attend classes.

Apprentice training is provided in apprentice schools and vocational centers. The courses of study last two or three years, depending on the trade, and include both theoretical training and practical experience. Successful completion of a course leads to a certificate qualifying the holder as a skilled worker. Most apprentices are part-time students who are released from their jobs to attend school. Many apprentice schools and vocational centers are located on the premises of industrial enterprises that supply the staff and equipment needed for training. Graduates of an apprentice training program can prepare for the state examination in vocational secondary education at workers' secondary schools, which provide three-year courses in general and vocational secondary education on a part-time basis. Successful graduates may continue into higher education.

The decision as to which form of secondary education to pursue is made by the student and his family. Little counseling is available in the schools. The state affects the decision by determining the number of students that can be accommodated in each school and, within the school, in each course of study and by setting admission requirements. There have traditionally been many more applicants than facilities to accommodate them. Admission is based on the record of achievement in primary school and on an evaluation of the applicant's abilities and potential by his former teachers and school authorities.

In the aftermath of the Dubcek period of liberal reforms, political criteria again became a major determinant in admission to secondary schools. In the words of the director of secondary education for the Czech Socialist Republic, "We want . . . to select students . . . in a way that guarantees that when . . . they graduate . . . they will stand up loyally for socialism and will place their knowledge fully at the service of socialist society. Where the preconditions for this do not exist, there is no reason to admit an applicant." Thus, the national committee within whose jurisdiction the applicant lives is required to evaluate the political orientation of the applicant and his family to determine his suitability for secondary education.

Higher Education

Higher education is provided at universities, higher technical schools, higher schools of the arts, and pedagogical institutes for teacher training. Most schools, except for those specializing in only

one field of study, are divided into faculties that, in turn, are divided into departments. Students are admitted to a particular faculty but may take courses in various departments. Most degree courses require five years to complete; however, some technical courses require an additional half year, and a medical degree requires six years.

At the completion of a course of study, students take a final examination before a state board. The examination in most subjects consists of an oral examination covering the entire scope of their studies and preparation and defense of a thesis. Successful candidates receive the degree of graduate in the arts and sciences, and of engineer in technical subjects. Until they were abolished in June 1970, two consecutive higher academic degrees were awarded in the sciences: candidate of science and doctor of science; the former required further study and an advanced thesis, and the latter, a doctoral dissertation of original scholarly work.

Admission to higher education is governed by the number of places assigned to each faculty by the five-year plan governing economic and social development (see ch. 10, Character and Structure of the Economy). The greatest number of spaces are usually allocated to the technical and scientific faculties, which frequently have fewer applicants than available spaces. Faculties of the humanities and arts, on the other hand, usually have several times more applicants than available spaces.

In order to qualify for admission, applicants must have passed the state examination completing the secondary course of study. Admissions are based on a recommendation by the applicant's secondary school and employer, where applicable, and on an interview with the admissions commission of the higher school. In the interview great emphasis is placed on testing the political views of the candidate. Preference in admission is given to applicants with some work experience after secondary school. If an outstanding applicant cannot be admitted to the institution of his choice because of lack of space, efforts are made to place him in another institution. Of the students admitted to higher education in 1967, 63 percent were graduates of general secondary schools, 28 percent were graduates of vocational secondary schools, and 9 percent had graduated from a workers' secondary school after several years of employment.

Adult Education

In the early years of communist rule adult education received a great deal of attention and resources. A variety of special schools were established at all levels of the school system to provide workers and peasants of all ages with the opportunity of attaining higher levels of education and skill in order to change the social composition of the educated elite. The emphasis on adult education has been reduced,

but it still provides an important avenue for attaining higher levels of education and training.

Most secondary and higher schools offer evening classes and correspondence courses leading to the various qualifying examinations and degrees. Required subjects may be taken one at a time with an examination at the end of each course, rather than one comprehensive examination at the end of the completed course of study. A ten-year limit is set, however, for the completion of any one course of study toward a specific certificate or degree.

An institution devoted entirely to adult education is the Socialist Academy, known before 1965 as the Czechoslovak Society for the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge. It has branches throughout the country that organize lectures and discussions on a variety of subjects intended to further the education of its participants. The academy also publishes several periodicals.

ARTISTIC AND INTELLECTUAL EXPRESSION

Czechs! vaks point with pride to their cultural heritage and to the contribution they have made to the world. Such men as Jan Hus, John Comenius, and Thomas Masaryk in the fields of religious, educational, and political philosophy; Bedrich Smetana, Antonin Dvorak, and Leos Janacek in music; and Karel Capek and Franz Kafka in literature are among the great names in the history of Western culture.

Since the reign of Charles IV in the fourteenth century, Prague has been a major cultural center of Europe. Its historic monuments and those in other parts of the country attest not only to the creativity of Czechs and Slovaks, but also to that of artists and scholars from other parts of Europe who came to enjoy the stimulation of their surroundings. The reputation of Bohemian artists and scholars for their excellent training and mastery of their art, even though lacking some of the innovative creativity of contemporaries in other lands, made them sought after throughout Medieval and Renaissance Europe.

The historian Frantisek Palacky helped spark a national reawakening among the Czechs in the nineteenth century with his monumental *History of the Czech People*, which glorified the cultural and intellectual achievements of the Czechs. Together with the Slovak historian Pavel Safarik and a score of Czech and Slovak writers, poets, artists, and musicians, Palacky became a political as well as cultural leader, pressing for national independence and unification of the Czechs and Slovaks. This merging of politics and creative expression is characteristic of the independence movements in central Europe. In the initial stages of those movements literature and art

were the only available channels for expressing social and political protest.

Their concern with social reform and liberal humanitarianism made many artists and intellectuals of the interwar period supporters of socialist and communist movements. This same concern, however, also motivated them to rebel against the repressions of the Novotny regime. In the 1960s creative effort again assumed the function of otherwise repressed political criticism, when writers and artists in all media undertook to campaign for greater cultural and political freedom. Their efforts were successful but short lived.

Although creative effort seemed to be at a standstill in 1971 Czechoslovak artists and intellectuals continue to find ways of communicating with their audience through oblique statements and innuendos that inject political overtones into seemingly harmless material. They also frustrate the authorities with their passive resistance, refusing to get involved with the present regime and preferring to work at menial jobs rather than in their fields in order to avoid compromising their standards.

Cultural Policy Since 1948

Since the communist takeover in 1948 artistic and intellectual expression has been dominated by the cultural policy of the KSC, which follows the model developed by the Soviet Union. The central concept on which this policy has been based is socialist realism: an artist must strive to grasp the essence of human and social relations and depict them truthfully in the light of socialist ideals. His mission is to cultivate the tastes of the working man; therefore, his style must be simple and straightforward. Failure to follow this concept in artistic expression, or deviation from it, is punishable in various ways from blacklisting to imprisonment.

Cultural policy has been administered through the former federal Ministry of Culture and the various professional organizations under its control. In 1971 each republic had its own Ministry of Culture and its own professional organizations. The policy itself and the extent to which it is enforced generally reflects the political climate of the time and the particular outlook of the men in control. Thus the narrow interpretation of socialist realism and the rigid restrictions on cultural activities of the Stalinist period were loosened after the defamations of Stalin and eventually gave way to complete freedom of expression under Alexander Dubcek.

The reimposition of controls after the Soviet invasion of 1968 has been carried out with markedly differing degrees of intensity in the Czech republic and the Slovak republic, reflecting, in part, the ideological views of the respective ministers of culture. In 1971 censorship and restrictions were far harsher in the Czech republic, and

the reorganization of cultural organizations and their activities was far more extensive there than in the Slovak republic. As a result, the Czech writers and journalists who were in disfavor often turned to the Slovak press for publication of their works.

The main enforcers of cultural policy and the main organs of control over artistic and intellectual expression have been the various professional unions. Their function is both to enforce established standards of creative expression and to act as a representative body for the members of individual professions. In the latter capacity, the unions set salary scales, job descriptions, and professional qualifications for employment; represent members in relations with employers; operate housing facilities, stores, and vacation resorts for members; and perform other functions usually attributed to labor unions. Membership in the appropriate union is a prerequisite to effective artistic and intellectual expression. Only members can be employed in their profession and have their works published, performed, or exhibited. Expulsion from the union, a punishment for deviation from prescribed cultural policy, means professional oblivion.

The leadership of the unions is elected by the members at periodic congresses that also establish union policy. A close relationship always exists between union leadership and the party, which controls the union through the leadership. The so-called writers' revolt of the mid-1960s, initiated at the Fourth Congress of the Czechoslovak Writers' Union, was possible only because there was dissension within the KSC itself over policy and ideology. Even so, the most vocal advocates of reform at the writers' congress were expelled from the party and from the union. They were reinstated during the reform period of 1968 but purged again in 1969.

As part of its cultural policy since 1948 the government has attempted to capitalize on the cultural traditions of the country and the high esteem awarded to artistic and intellectual expression. Castles, churches, and other buildings of exceptional architectural or artistic merit have been designated national museums and are maintained by the state for public enjoyment. A number of historic restorations have been undertaken to preserve outstanding examples of the cultural heritage. State-supported theatrical groups, dance companies, and musical ensembles take cultural events to all parts of the country, either free or at very low admission rates. Individual artists and scholars are rewarded for their professional competence and political loyalty with special privileges, honorary titles, and financial rewards.

Literature

The literary traditions of the Czechs and Slovaks can be traced back to the translations of the scriptures into Old Church Slavic by

the missionaries Cyril and Methodius in the ninth century. Two other notable works in Old Church Slavonic, written before and during the tenth century, respectively, are: *Lives*, about the two missionaries, and *Legends*, about Saint Wenceslas and his grandmother, Ludmila.

Hymns from the second half of the thirteenth century are the earliest preserved writings using the Czech language. During the fourteenth century Czech literature developed through allegories and fables, troubadour songs, legends of saints, and historical and religious drama. During the last part of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth century, concern with social and moral questions preoccupied most writing. Thomas of Stitny, Jan Hus, and Petr Chelcicky wrote treatises on moral and religious questions that had lasting influence on the Czechs and on the rest of the world. Hus' contribution to Czechoslovak literature was not only through his writings, but also through his reform of Czech orthography. The development of prose during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries culminated in the translation of the Bible known as the Kralice Bible, published between 1579 and 1593. The translation became a model of classical Czech.

The defeat of Protestantism in 1620 and the Counter-Reformation struck a blow to the further development of literature, which had been closely connected with Protestantism. It continued among exiles, foremost of whom was John Comenius, who wrote his philosophical works in both Latin and Czech. In the country itself, some Jesuits attempted to replace the banned Protestant literature with Catholic religious writing in Czech. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, however, Czech had almost disappeared as a literary language. This decline of literary Czech spurred Slovak Protestants, who had been using Czech in their writing, to translate the Czech religious texts into Slovak for their own use. Antonin Benoiak codified his language into a grammar and dictionary based on the western Slovak dialect, and writers such as Jan Holly used it to produce idylls and national epics.

The national revival, which began in the late eighteenth century, gave a new spurt to the development of literature. The revival was sparked by the writings on Czech philology and grammar of Josef Dobrovsky, followed by the preparation of a monumental dictionary by Josef Jungmann. The development of a Czech urban middle class during this period created a public for Czech literature. Further impetus was provided by the writings of Czech historian Frantisek Palacky and Slovak historian Pavel Safarik. Foremost among the literary revivalists was Jan Kollar, a Slovak who wrote in Czech. His allegorical sonnet cycle, *The Daughter of Slav*, is a major work in Czechoslovak literature.

The early nineteenth century was a period of romanticism, particularly romantic poetry. The greatest romantic poet and, according to many, the greatest Czech poet of all times was Karel

Macha. His writings, including drama and prose as well as poetry, show the influence of Lord Byron and Sir Walter Scott. The lyric epic *May* influenced future generations of poets. Slovak romantic poetry also flourished, using the new language developed by Ludovit Stur. Foremost among Slovak poets of the period was Jánko Kralj.

Two other major works of romantic poetry of this period are the *Manuscript of Kralove Dvur* and the *Manuscript of Zelena Hora*. They were first published as fragments of poetry ostensibly written in the early Middle Ages but were later revealed to be forgeries written by the contemporary poet Vaclav Hanka. Exposure of their real origin did not, however, harm their intrinsic value as great romantic poetry.

A reaction to romanticism first appeared in the 1840s with the realistic novels of Bozena Nemcova and the political journalism of Karel Havlicek. Both are credited with transforming Czech literature from the classical prose style to the use of simpler, everyday language. Together with the poet Karel Erben they are also credited with forming the transition from the early romantic period of national revival to the next phase in literature, when a large number of authors, writing for an extensive public, were trying to produce literature of a more universal character that would take its place among other literatures of Europe.

Foremost among the proponents of a Europeanized literature was Emil Frida who, using the pseudonym Jaroslav Vrchlicky, gained a reputation as a prolific writer in all forms and as an important translator of works in many languages. An opposing school of writers based their work on national traditions. Principal exponents of the national school were the poets Jan Neruda and Svatopluk Cech. Not attached to either of these schools, but a major figure in the development of Slovak literature, was the poet Pavel Orszagh, who wrote under the pen name Hviezdoslav.

Franz Kafka, born and raised in Prague in the late nineteenth century, was of Austrian-Jewish background rather than Czech. Kafka's works gained wide acclaim but, written in the German language, his literary production is generally thought of as German rather than Czechoslovak.

The creation of independent Czechoslovakia gave great impetus to literary production in both Czech and Slovak, and some of the best literature dates from the interwar period. Lyrical poetry of great variety was being written by Josef Hora, Frantisek Halas, Vitezslav Nezval, and Jaroslav Seifert. Drama came into its own with the satirical and idealistic plays of Karel Capek and the plays of Frantisek Langer. Narrative prose reached its peak with the works of Capek, Ivan Olbracht, and Vladislav Vančura. Capek's fantasies and psychological studies are world renowned, as is the satirical novel *The Good Soldier Schweik* by Jaroslav Hasek.

In the 1930s Czechoslovak writing, particularly that of novelists, showed a growing interest in left-wing social and political ideas. Because of their disillusionment with humanism and democracy, writers were looking for alternative systems. The dismemberment of their country and the subsequent war deepened their disillusionment with all political and social systems and turned their interest to the inner man. Restrictions on the freedom of expression during Nazi rule limited literary output to historical and psychological novels and pure adventure stories. After the war, however, writers resumed their exploration of the inner man—the individual removed from all social relations.

Freedom of expression ceased again with the communist takeover in 1948, and literature was assigned the role of helping to build a new order. The traditional inclinations of many writers toward the left of the political spectrum made it easier for them to adapt to this assignment. Most writers joined the newly organized Writers' Union and attempted to produce literature in the style of socialist realism under strict control and censorship. Despite the sympathies for the regime on the part of a large number of writers, restrictions on literature in Czechoslovakia in the early 1950s were considered the most rigid in the communist bloc.

A slight liberalization began in 1956 as part of the de-Stalinization taking place in the communist world. The artificial heroes of socialist realism in novels were replaced by human characters in human situations. Many young writers showed their disillusionment with socialism, which had allowed the excesses of the personality cult, by writing about young people who were indifferent to social ideals and who felt alienated from society. Outstanding authors of that period are Josef Skvorecký and Alfonz Bednar, a Slovak.

The drive by young authors to reduce the dogmatic and authoritarian control of literature gained momentum in the early 1960s with the publication of two new literary weeklies, *Literarni Noviny* in Prague and *Kulturny Zivot* in Bratislava, which provided outlets for young writers. Some analysts of the Czechoslovak cultural scene claim that, in their initial efforts, the young writers were not motivated by a conscious protest but purely by a desire to secure a public for their literary efforts.

The monotony and predictability of socialist realism writing eroded public interest and made literature an unwanted commodity. Without a reading public the young writers could not make a name for themselves; therefore, they wanted to be free to write more interesting and more desirable literature. According to these analysts, the writers' revolt was motivated initially by a form of commercialism, rather than a desire for greater self-expression. As it developed it took on ideological motivation and became a fight for the freedom to choose one's subject and style of presentation and to have one's work judged

on its intrinsic merits rather than its contributions to the advancement of socialism. Their battle was won in June 1968 by the abolishment of all censorship and control of publishing and the short-lived period of liberalization.

The period of the middle and late 1960s saw prolific production in all branches of literature. In prose the most common theme was the Stalinist period, presented most frequently as personal narrative. The first such novel to gain renown was Ladislav Mnacko's *A Taste of Power*, which exposes the corruption, cynicism, and hypocrisy of the communist bureaucracy through the life of a high functionary, reputed to be party boss Antonin Novotny. Other important novels of the period were written by Milan Kundera, Pavel Kohout, and Ludvik Vaculik.

The poetry of the period is divided into two schools. One, represented by the work of Miroslav Holub, Jiri Kolar, Ladislav Novak, and Jan Zabransky, comments on the contemporary scene in narrative or rhetorical style. The other deals with the private world of the individual either through imagination, as does Ivan Wernisch, or through reality, as does Ivan Divis. Most of the poetry, as well as prose, shows little innovation in style except through imitation of contemporary Western European and American authors.

The reimposition of strict censorship and controls on literary production has sharply curtailed output since 1969. Most of the literary periodicals, which were the vehicles for presenting the work of writers and poets, have been banned or suspended. The old writers' union was dissolved, and a new one was established for each of the republics. Membership in the new union is contingent on publication of three approved literary works. A writer whose political outlook is judged to be in disagreement with current policy and whose writing does not conform to the reintroduced standards of socialist realism cannot have his works published. Most of the writers active in the 1960s have withdrawn from the literary scene; some have gone into exile.

Music

In the eighteenth century Czechs (or Bohemians, as they were called at the time) had a reputation as the most musical people of Europe. Their natural inclination toward music and the popularity and high standard of musical instruction, even in the smallest village, produced a large number of well-trained musicians who filled the ranks of orchestras and choirs all over Europe and enriched the musical life of their adopted countries. Until Bedrich Smetana demonstrated otherwise, however, this reputation was coupled with a widely held conviction that they were first-rate technicians rather than creative artists.

The Czechoslovak peoples' love of and interest in music continue to be demonstrated by the rich heritage of folksongs and dances that have survived to form part of the daily life. The music of each region is distinctive and reflects the cultural influences of its inhabitants. Consequently, the songs of Bohemia and western Moravia are similar to those of Germany and other parts of Western Europe, whereas those of eastern Moravia and Slovakia have a definite Eastern flavor.

The simple monodic scale survived in Czechoslovakia much longer than in the rest of Europe because of the religious and aesthetic ideas of Jan Hus and his followers, who were opposed to all embellishment, even in music. The result was a heritage of strong and simple religious hymns, quite distinctive from those of other countries, which have left a lasting imprint on Christian music. The polyphonic scale was introduced at the end of the fifteenth century but did not begin to have a serious effect on Czechoslovak music until the mid-sixteenth century.

The transitional period in musical history between baroque and classical music in the eighteenth century saw an outburst of creativity among Czech composers. Known as "lesser masters," they are credited with important contributions to the gradual development of classicism in music. Their works, although very successful in their day, have been largely forgotten. Nevertheless, the classic period was important in the cultural life of the country and lasted longer than in Western Europe. Mozart composed *Don Giovanni* and the *Marriage of Figaro* in Prague for Prague audiences, which received them with great acclaim. Among Czech classic composers, Vaclav Tomasck is considered outstanding.

During the national rebirth of the nineteenth century, a national school of music developed with the incorporation of folksongs and traditional melodies into more serious compositions. It was a period of great musical creativity among both Czech and Slovak composers, and its product continues to form an important part of the contemporary musical repertoire. Among the composers of the time, however, only Smetana achieved lasting fame outside of his own country.

Immediately after Smetana lived two other internationally recognized Czech composers: Antonin Dvorak and the recently discovered Leos Janacek. All three of these composers drew on their national cultural heritage for inspiration, and their music is full of traditional themes. Only part of their extensive production is known to the average musiclover. Many of their other works, particularly operas, ballet scores, and choral works based on nationalistic themes, are extensively performed in Czechoslovakia and other parts of Eastern Europe but are seldom heard elsewhere. This is also true of the works of some of their contemporaries and students, such as ...ek Fibich, Bohuslav Foerster, Josef Suk, and Vitezslav Novak.

Because the Slovak nation had no conscious national existence between the time of the Magyar conquest in the late ninth century and the national revival of the nineteenth century, the Slovak musical heritage had been limited to folk music until the twentieth century. Among the Slovak composers who have achieved renown beyond their own country are Eugen Suchon, known in Europe for his opera *The Whirlpool*, and Alois Haba, a modernist who writes quarter tone music. Both were still living in 1971. A modern Czech composer of international renown was Bohuslav Martinu, who died in 1959.

Under the Communists, musical expression has been freer than the other arts because of its nonverbal and nonideological character. Atonal music and avant-garde experimentation with sound and style, however, are discouraged as inappropriate to the ideals of socialist realism. Nevertheless, a number of young composers have written works in the less extreme modern styles, and some have concentrated on music for unusual instruments or combinations of instruments. Contemporary Czechoslovak music is performed regularly in other parts of Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union but is seldom heard in the West.

The government has consistently and extensively supported musical activity of all kinds. Some ten state-supported symphony orchestras, twenty opera companies, and many choruses and smaller musical ensembles offer an extensive and varied program to large and eager audiences. As with other performing arts, ticket prices are kept low to allow all segments of society to attend. The traditionally high technical standards of musicians have been preserved through careful training at many conservatories and music schools. The annual Prague Spring Music Festival attracts musicians and musiclovers from faraway, as do some of the summer workshops and their festivals.

Art

Medieval art flourished in Bohemia in the second half of the fourteenth century during the reign of Charles IV and, later, until the Hussite rebellion, with its opposition to embellishment of any sort that suppressed artistic expression. The panel paintings, sculptures, and manuscript illuminations produced at the height of this period are among the best in Europe. Styles developed by Bohemian artists spread to other parts of central and northern Europe and farther. At the same time, Bohemian artists were influenced by styles developed elsewhere.

Medieval artists in Slovakia concentrated on mural and panel painting. Illumination was never as important a medium as in Bohemia, although Bohemian-inspired Slovak artists did produce some illuminated manuscripts. Earlier, during the thirteenth century,

Byzantine forms had dominated artistic expression among both Bohemians and Slovaks.

A period of stagnation in art caused by the domination of Hussite philosophy was followed by another period of great creativity in the eighteenth century, first in the baroque style and later in the rococo style. Castles and churches throughout the country contain examples of the decorative art of these periods, executed by both native and foreign artists. Sculpture, particularly wood carving, reached a high degree of excellence. Colored and gilded sculptures were everywhere—in churches, in public monuments, and along roadsides. Prague was transformed into a baroque city.

A turning point in creative expression in art came with the national revival of the nineteenth century. Although, until then, art and sculpture were dominated by religious themes, they turned to the people and their history for inspiration. Robust peasants in their daily life, romantic landscapes, and well-known historical events were depicted in monumental canvases and sculptures. The painters Josef Manes and Mikolas Ales and the sculptor Josef Vaclav Mysibek were part of the group of creative artists who, under the leadership and inspiration of the historian Palacky, gave new life to Czechoslovak culture and paved the way for national independence.

In the twentieth century, Czechoslovak art has been subject to the same experimentation and diversification of points of view as those in other countries. Through their travels and frequent residence in France, artists were exposed to and influenced by all the movements current in Europe, and all are represented in their works. Alfons Mucha is particularly known for his decorative and symbolic art nouveau paintings, and the half-Czech Oskar Kokoschka, for his psychological portraits and allegorical paintings.

In spite of the restrictions imposed on the contemporary artist by the communist regime, there was evidence of continuous experimentation with new media and styles of expression. Metal, glass, concrete, and other media are frequently used by young sculptors whose works can be seen in parks, museums, and other public places. Graphic art flourished in 1971. Approved artists have many opportunities to exhibit their work in galleries, culture halls, and open-air art shows.

Internationally known for his work in an unusual medium—glass—was Rene Roubicek. He has exhibited all over the world and has won several prizes. Most acclaimed are his sculptured glass lighting fixtures that adorned the Czechoslovak pavilions at the world fairs in Brussels, Montreal, and Oseka and are in all the public rooms at the Czechoslovak embassy in London.

Theater

The performing arts have a long tradition in Czechoslovak culture. Prague, Bratislava, and Brno each had its theater, ballet, and opera companies, which gave regular performances of both domestic and foreign works to large audiences. Theater, together with other arts, played a major role in the national revival of the nineteenth century, and the completion of the National Theatre in Prague, with its Czech-language drama and opera company, was a major political as well as cultural event.

Under the Communists, theater is seen as an instrument for mass persuasion and propaganda. To accomplish its mission, theater has been popularized and brought within reach of all segments of the population. In the late 1960s as many as 100 professional drama groups were reportedly performing regularly throughout the country. They were supported and controlled by the government and organized as national, republic, or municipal companies. Even the small experimental groups organized by prominent directors, such as Otomar Krejca's Theater Behind the Gate in Prague, were government supported. Government subsidies made possible very low admission rates, making theater a popular recreation.

The popularization of theater and its use as a propaganda vehicle have forced a lowering of the intellectual and artistic qualities of much contemporary production. Public preference is for light entertainment, although well-known classics, including Shakespeare, Molière, and some Russian dramatists, draw large audiences.

The loosening of cultural restrictions in the 1960s expanded contact with contemporary Western theater through foreign tours of Czechoslovak companies and artists, and importations of Western plays. This stimulated experimentation with new styles at home, and Prague became the center of Eastern European avant-garde activity. Directors such as Otomar Krejca and Jan Grossman teamed with young dramatists such as Josef Topol, Vaclav Havel, Pavel Kohout, Milan Uhde, and Peter Karvas to produce satirical and absurd plays exposing the shortcomings of the politico-economic system.

The reimposition of controls in late 1968 and early 1969 eliminated experimentation and restricted theatrical productions to safe, nonpolitical classics. Nevertheless, several productions were closed by the authorities in 1970 because the audience applauded passages that could be interpreted as anti-Soviet or antiregime.

Plays and operas are performed in either Czech or Slovak. A few Hungarian-language theaters serve that minority group.

Films

In the years after World War II the Czechoslovak film industry made a name for itself in the world for its inventive and imaginative animated and puppet films made by Jiri Trnka and Karel Zeman. Best known among them was Trnka's *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

With the loosening of restrictions in the early 1960s, films emerged as an important medium of artistic expression. A whole school of young directors, led by Milos Forman and including Pavel Juracek, Ivan Passer, Jiri Menzel, and Jaromil Jires, produced films of extraordinary artistic and technical merit. Sometimes referred to by film critics as intimists, these directors were interested in portraying particular moments in everyday life and were able to make the most ordinary event seem special. Another, smaller school—including the veteran Otokar Varva and two of his students, Jan Nemec and Vera Chytilova—made highly stylized, visually striking films.

Most of the films produced during that period were exported to Western Europe and the United States where many won prizes. They were highly appreciated by Western audiences. A number of the directors, among them Milos Forman, were invited to make films in other countries and stayed abroad after the invasion of 1968.

The reimposition of strict rules regarding subject matter and style of presentation in films in 1969 and 1970 seemed to have cut short the creative effort in that medium. All films made before 1969 and not yet released were subjected to review and censorship; others, already released, were recalled and prohibited from further showing. Directors were advised to refrain from "bourgeois commercialism" and to concentrate on socialist realism in their films.

Science and Philosophy

Traditionally, scholarship was highly valued and enjoyed great prestige. Scholarly knowledge was highly respected, and scholarly work was undertaken with great seriousness and sense of mission. As a profession, scholarship or research was considered among the best. Men such as Thomas Masaryk were often respected more for their scholarship and philosophy than for their political leadership.

Theoretical science and philosophy were considered to have greater intellectual merit than applied work. Although there was a great emphasis on humanism in all scholarly and scientific work, practical or applied knowledge was secondary to knowledge for its own sake. Absolute truth was the goal of all scholarly effort. Therefore, great pain was taken to investigate all possibilities and to keep abreast of the research and thinking on the same subject in other parts of the world. As a result, the quality of scholarship was extremely high.

Emphasis on logic and thoroughness in their work, however, steered Czechoslovak scholars away from original and innovative thought.

The scholarly tradition seems to have survived the restrictions imposed on such activity by the communist regime. The greatest departure from tradition has been the emphasis on applied research. Marxist-Leninist ideology dictates that all scholarly activity must be socially useful, that is, directly applicable to the problems and needs of the society. The search for knowledge for its own sake has no place in a society whose primary concern is the well-being of its members; therefore, heavy emphasis has been placed on research in science and technology designed to improve the economy.

The social sciences have suffered not only from less financial support but also from the restrictions imposed by the required adherence to Marxist-Leninist ideology. Marxism-Leninism is the only accepted philosophy, and all scholarly work must be based on its precepts. History, sociology, economics, and political science all must be viewed through Marxist-Leninist eyes, which results in frequent distortions. Efforts to broaden the base of intellectual expression and to introduce greater objectivity into scholarly work are suppressed. Serious scholars, both in the country and abroad, have expressed fear about the effects this one-sidedness will have on the traditional concern with truth among the younger generations. The active role of students and young intellectuals during the brief period of free intellectual expression in 1968 seemed to prove their fears unfounded.

All research is conducted under the auspices of either the Czech Academy of Sciences or the Slovak Academy of Sciences. The academies are divided into research institutes and departments for the various disciplines. Although political loyalty has been a major consideration in the appointment of members since 1948, the academies have shown considerable independence from politics. Most members seem to be scholars concerned primarily with their discipline and whose adherence to communist ideology goes only as far as is necessary to allow them to carry out their scholarly work. A 1970 amendment to the law governing the administration of the academies, however, imposes greater political control on them. Under the amendment the president of the academy is no longer elected by the membership but appointed by the president of the republic. He, in turn, appoints all the other senior officials of the academy, who had previously also been elected by the members.

RELIGION

Church-State Relations

The Constitution of 1960 guarantees freedom of religion and tolerance, providing its exercise does not interfere with government

laws and policies. Churches and religious societies are expected to be loyal to the state and to work with it toward the advancement of its socialist aims. Religious groups as institutions, however, may not participate in political life, nor may their leaders use the teachings of their faith to influence their followers on social or political matters. Officially the state maintains the position that religion is a personal matter and a matter of conscience, but simultaneously government propaganda declares that religion is a superstitious vestige of the past that can be overcome through enlightenment and education in a scientific view of the world.

The free exercise of religious beliefs has been difficult, if not impossible at most times since 1948. In order to transform the society into a socialist state, the communist regime had to bring organized religion under its control. The first step was taken in 1948 with the suppression of the religious press. In 1949 the government nationalized all church property and made churches dependent on a government subsidy. At the same time, the State Office for Church Affairs was created as the supreme authority on all religious matters. All clergy became civil servants under the jurisdiction of the State Office for Church Affairs and were required to take an oath of loyalty to the government. Those who refused were not allowed to exercise their clerical duties. Those who took the oath were organized into the Movement of Patriotic Priests and the Movement of Patriotic Protestant Clergy.

In 1950 the government broke relations with the Holy See in Rome and dissolved all monastic orders, confiscating their property and forcing their members to seek secular employment. Theological education was consolidated into two Roman Catholic and two Protestant theological faculties, located in Prague and Bratislava, and the content of theological education was revised to incorporate communist views on religious matters.

During most of the 1950s the population was subjected to heavy antireligious propaganda. The activities of the churches, except those that supported government policy, were severely restricted. Large numbers of antistate clergy and laymen were imprisoned for alleged activities. Church services of any kind could be held only with permission of the secular authorities, and the faithful were pressured against attending. Religious instruction for children was available at the request of parents and with the approval of school authorities, but both parents and children were actively discouraged from participating.

The gradual reduction of political controls that began in the early 1960s and culminated in the liberal reforms of 1968 provided the churches with greater freedom. The former hostility between most of the churches and the government dissolved into an open dialogue between Marxists and liberal Christian philosophers and intellectuals

trying to find common principles and goals in their ideas and actions and to work more closely together to achieve them. The government undertook negotiations with the Holy See to renew relations.

At the height of the liberalization period in 1968 churches were almost completely restored to their precommunist role in society. Imprisoned clergy were released, and as many as possible were returned to clerical duties; the authority of bishops and other church leaders was restored; the Movement of Patriotic Priests and its Protestant counterpart were abolished; theological faculties increased their enrollments, and the University of Olomouc added a faculty of theology; religious instruction of children was removed from state control and placed under the jurisdiction of the churches; and religious orders were allowed to reorganize.

Since the Soviet invasion in 1968 the government has been gradually reimposing its control over the churches. Religious functions in 1971 were again subject to regulation by civil authorities. The State Office for Church Affairs was once more given authority to control and supervise church administration and all activities of the churches, both pastoral and other. Admission of new students to the theological faculties was frozen, and religious instruction of children was again placed under the control of schools and burdened with red tape designed to discourage as many parents as possible. The expressed aim of the renewed restrictions was to paralyze the influence of religion on the population, particularly on the youth. At the same time, schools and other institutions were ordered to undertake a new campaign of atheistic propaganda.

Roman Catholicism

After the creation of the republic in 1918 the Roman Catholic Church lost many members and much of its influence in national affairs as part of a reaction against its close relations with the former Habsburg rulers. For almost a decade relations between the church and the government were strained. In the late 1920s, however, an agreement was reached between the Czechoslovak government and the Holy See that defined their relations and provided for a state subsidy to the church. With this agreement, the Roman Catholic Church again became an influential force in national life. Its position of power was based not only on its clerical organization but also on the influence of the Roman Catholic political parties, labor unions, sports clubs, and charitable and educational organizations.

During the first decade of its rule, the communist government undertook a slow but systematic destruction of the influence of the church, using persuasion to attract clergy and laymen to its point of view and force against those who opposed its efforts. By the mid-1960s the number of priests working in their professions had been

reduced from 7,040 in 1948 to 4,700 according to government sources; but according to church sources, there were only 2,000 practicing priests. Only 3,200 churches out of a former 10,473 remained open for worship. Religious training for women was discontinued, and nuns were allowed to work only as nurses in maternity hospitals and clinics. Large numbers of priests were working in industry and agriculture. Several hundred were in prison for refusal to cooperate with the state.

Although many of the concessions the church had gained in the 1960s were being slowly taken away, the Roman Catholic Church was stronger in 1971 than it had been since the beginning of communist rule. It was headed by Archbishop Thomasek of Prague and three other bishops, each in charge of a diocese in Slovakia. Three other Slovak dioceses and five Czech dioceses, however, were without bishops and had been for many years. Negotiations between the Czechoslovak government and the Holy See over the appointment of new bishops have reached no agreement since they started in 1968.

The Czechoslovak National Church

Membership in the Czechoslovak National Church was variously estimated at 500,000 and 750,000 in 1970. The church was founded in 1920 by a group of Catholic clergy and laymen who broke away from the Roman church as part of the nationalist and anti-Catholic fervor of the times. They took their inspiration from Jan Hus, whose reformist teachings of the fifteenth century became their major religious theme. Its membership grew rapidly in the 1920s, particularly among the Czechs.

During the pre-World War II period, the Czechoslovak National Church was heavily subsidized by the government. Its close association with Czech nationalism and liberal social philosophies made it a target for persecution during the German occupation of World War II. Under the Communists it has probably been least affected by the various restrictive measures imposed on religious organizations, because both its organization and its theology are loose enough to be adapted to government demands.

Protestantism

Membership in the Protestant churches expanded rapidly in the 1920s and 1930s, particularly in the Czech areas, as part of the nationalist movement away from Roman Catholicism. After the communist takeover, Protestant churches were among the first to be subjected to state control. Because they were relatively small, they lacked the resources and power to resist. Their congregational structure and nationalistic orientation, however, allowed them to

accommodate themselves more easily to the demands put upon them by the communist government than did the Roman Catholic Church. Furthermore, the ideas concerning egalitarianism and social reform, which had been part of the creed of the Evangelical Church of the Czech Brethren, the largest Czech Protestant church, were similar to some of the ideals expounded by the Communists. Slovak Protestants found it much harder to adapt to communist rule, and their opposition resulted in harsh repressive measures.

The largest Protestant denomination in Slovakia was the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession, sometimes referred to as the Slovak Evangelical or Slovak Lutheran Church. It was estimated to have around 400,000 members in 1970. The church originated in the Middle Ages and survived the Counter-Reformation. Unwilling to submit to government control under the communist regime, the leaders of the church were forced to resign after 1949 and were replaced by persons more willing to cooperate.

The other major Protestant denomination in Slovakia is the Reformed Church of Slovakia. Its historical development is similar to that of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession, but from its inception its membership has been predominantly Hungarian. In 1970 its membership was estimated at approximately 100,000.

The majority of Czech Protestants belong to the Evangelical Church of the Czech Brethren, which traces its origins to the fifteenth century Hussite reform movement. After its union with the Lutheran Church of Bohemia in 1575, it rapidly became the dominant Protestant group in Bohemia and Moravia and the one most closely identified with Czech nationalism. Its followers produced a Bible, hymnals, and a catechism in Czech. After the Counter-Reformation many of its adherents, including John Comenius, emigrated to other parts of Europe. Later others settled in the United States and founded a branch known as the Moravian Church.

In Czechoslovakia the Evangelical Church of the Czech Brethren was revived in 1918 and grew rapidly, with membership in 1970 estimated to be 250,000 to 300,000. The Czech Brethren stress the Bible as the foundation of Christian faith and demand simplicity in worship and rigorous morality in the life of the church's members.

Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists, and several other Protestant denominations were also represented. The largest was the Methodist Church, with an estimated 8,000 members.

The Czechoslovak Orthodox Church

The status, size, and condition of the Czechoslovak Orthodox Church were unclear in 1971. Before World War II the church had been relatively small, with fewer than 35,000 adherents, but in 1950 its membership rolls increased to over 250,000, when the communist

government ordered the Uniates (Eastern-rite Catholics) to break their ties with the Vatican and join the Czechoslovak Orthodox Church, which was under the jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Moscow. During the Dubcek liberalization period of 1968 the Uniates began to reestablish their own parishes, but it is not known how far they progressed or what their situation was in 1971 vis-à-vis the Czechoslovak Orthodox Church.

Judaism

Adherents to Judaism have been regarded historically as members of a religious community rather than of a national or ethnic minority. In the 1930 census their number was around 240,000. Persecution during World War II and large-scale migration between 1945 and 1950 reduced the number of Jews to an estimated 15,000 to 20,000 in 1970.

There were functioning synagogues in several cities. A chief rabbi in Brno was the spiritual head of Jews in the Czech Socialist Republic, and one in Bratislava was head of Jews in the Slovak Socialist Republic. The country had no facilities for training rabbinical candidates.

Since the Arab-Israeli War of June 1967, government officials have made frequent anti-Semitic pronouncements that have raised concern among the Jews. This concern was intensified when the Jewish community was unable to obtain the same concessions toward freedom that were granted to the Christian churches in 1968. Some reports indicate that, as a result, several thousand Jews left the country immediately after the Soviet invasion in August 1968.

CHAPTER 6

GOVERNMENTAL SYSTEM

During the late 1960s and the early 1970s the formal structure of the Czechoslovak government was repeatedly altered owing, first, to the reforms instituted under the leadership of Alexander Dubcek and, second, to the counterreform measures taken by the new leadership installed after the 1968 invasion by Soviet-led forces of the Warsaw Pact nations. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic's second communist constitution, promulgated in 1960, was extensively amended by the Constitutional Law of October 1968, which established a federal system of two equal national states: the Czech Socialist Republic (Bohemia and Moravia) and the Slovak Socialist Republic (Slovakia). The Constitutional Law of October 1968 was itself amended by subsequent constitutional laws promulgated in 1970. There was some indication in 1971 that a new constitution incorporating all of the changes in the governmental system was being prepared.

Constitutionally, the highest organ of state power in 1971 was the Federal Assembly, a bicameral legislature that theoretically controlled the executive organs of the government. In practice, however, primary power in the government was wielded by the executive branch, which was itself controlled by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (Komunisticka Strana Ceskoslovenska—KSC). The most powerful position in the country was that of the general secretary of the KSC Central Committee Secretariat. Because of the wide overlapping of membership, many of the same individuals were situated at the locus of power in both party and government. The KSC leaders who came to power after the 1968 invasion cooperated closely with the Soviet Union and were sustained in their positions by the presence of Soviet military units in the country.

Designed during the period of Dubcek's leadership of the KSC, the 1968 Constitutional Law was intended to decentralize governmental functions and to provide a greater degree of autonomy for Slovakia through the establishment of a federal system and through other measures intended to insure the Slovaks a role more equal to that of the dominant Czech population. Although the document remained largely in force in mid-1971, the post invasion leaders had moved to again restrict Slovak autonomy and to redirect the organizational pattern of the government toward increased centralization.

The structure and authority of the government at all levels were subordinated to the authority of the KSC. The leadership operated in a manner that rendered the government an instrument of party policy and, in effect, the government served as the administrative structure through which the party exerted its control over the population. Although the legislative bodies were asserted to be the voice of the people, they functioned to provide a stamp of legitimacy for the actions and orders of the communist executive. Theoretically independent, the judiciary also served as an instrument of party policy. The staffing of key positions at all levels of the government and civil service by loyal party functionaries served to make KSC control absolute.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

Constitutional Development

The first post-World War II constitution was promulgated on June 9, 1948, shortly after the Communists seized control of the government (see ch. 3, Historical Setting). In many ways similar to those of other East European states under Soviet domination, it described the country as a people's democratic republic and a unitary state of two Slav nations. Slovakia was theoretically given a degree of autonomy, including its own legislative body and regional government, but its position was clearly subordinate to that of the central government.

Although the constitution contained a number of elements commonly associated with democratic forms of government, its provisions were selectively and arbitrarily applied by the Communists in order to increase their control over the nation and eliminate effective political opposition. The most prominent features of the governmental system were its domination by the KSC leadership, its centralization of power in the executive branch, its parallel structures of the party and the government, and its electoral system that provided no alternative to KSC-endorsed candidates.

Local and regional government was administered by a hierarchy of bodies, or national committees, which were organized on the Leninist principle of democratic centralism, a principle demanding that each unit be rigorously supervised by the next higher level. Legislatively, the highest national body was the unicameral National Assembly. Between its twice-yearly sessions, the National Assembly's twenty-four-member presidium handled legislative affairs; its actions were subsequently ratified at the next assembly session.

In 1954 the National Assembly passed a law that limited the selection of candidates for office to those nominated by the National

Front—the collective organization of the KSC and four subordinate political organizations: the Czechoslovak People's Party (Ceskoslovenska Strana Lidova—CSL); the Czechoslovak Socialist Party (Ceskoslovenska Strana Socialisticka—CSS); the Slovak Freedom Party (Slovenska Strana Svobody—SSS); and the Party of Slovak Reconstruction (Strana Slovenskej Obrody—SSO). The National Front, which also includes the mass organizations (labor unions, youth groups, and others), conducted and supervised the elections, which inevitably offered only a single-list ballot.

The second post-World War II constitution, promulgated in July 1960, renamed the country the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, declared that the building of socialism had been completed in Czechoslovakia, and asserted that the country had approached the threshold of communism. Codifying the various changes that had been made in the social, political, and economic life of the country since 1948, the 1960 Constitution was considered rigidly Stalinist by outside political observers.

Whereas the 1948 Constitution had recognized a measure of autonomy for Slovakia, the 1960 document formalized what had evolved as the actual attitude of the central government during the 1950s and placed severe limitations on the few remnants of Slovak autonomy. The prerogatives of the Slovak National Council were highly circumscribed, many being assumed by organs of the central government; and the National Assembly was given authority to repeal or overrule decisions of the Slovak council.

The executive branch of the Slovak government, the Board of Commissioners, was abolished altogether; its duties were assigned to the Presidium of the National Council, thus combining both the executive and legislative functions in a single body. Administration of the national committees, the organs of local government, was taken over directly by central government agencies. Students of East European political affairs defined these moves as an effort by the leadership to attain greater centralization of political control and complete integration of the Slovaks into a unitary communist state.

The 1948 and 1960 constitutions declared that all political power belonged to the working people, who, in theory, had the right to elect and control the representative bodies of the government. An extensive list of individual rights and duties had been part of the 1948 Constitution and, although most of these were retained in the 1960 document, certain of them were restricted or omitted completely. The most significant omission in the later constitution was the right of private ownership of property other than consumer goods, family houses, and savings derived from labor. The freedom of choice of residence was also omitted.

Equality, protection from extralegal prosecution and arbitrary arrest, and freedom of speech, the press, art, and assembly were

reiterated in the 1960 Constitution, but the practice of these rights was sometimes qualified. Freedom of speech and the press, for example, was limited by the qualification that such expression be "consistent with the interests of the working people." Who or which body was competent to determine whether or not particular instances of expression were in keeping with this principle was not indicated. Religious freedom was also guaranteed, but the right of conscientious objection to military service was specifically denied.

The 1960 Constitution generally subordinates individual rights to those of the society in general. Asserting that in a society of working people "the advancement and interests of each member are in accord with the advancement and interests of the whole community," the Constitution declares that "the individual can fully develop his capabilities and assert his true interests only by active participation in the development of society as a whole." Every citizen has both the right and the duty to work toward this goal in the interests of the entire socialist community.

The economic foundation of the state is described as the socialist economic system, which includes the socialist ownership of the means of production, the centralized planning of the entire national economy, and the active cooperation of all citizens. Socialist ownership is of two basic forms: state ownership, which is defined as ownership by the people as a whole; and cooperative ownership, by which property is held by people's cooperatives. State property includes mineral resources; the basic sources of power; the principal forests and rivers; means of industrial production; public transport and communications; banks and insurance; broadcasting facilities; motion picture enterprises; and the most important social institutions, such as health facilities, schools, and scientific institutes.

The primary holdings of the people's cooperatives consist of land reserved for agricultural use and the necessary farm implements to work it. Small private enterprises are permitted by the Constitution. They are limited, however, to those "based on the labor of the owner himself and excluding exploitation of another's labor power" (see ch. 10, Character and Structure of the Economy).

All economic activity in the country is to be carried out on the basis of an overall state plan and directed according to the principle of democratic centralism. State economic, health, social, and cultural policies are to be carried out in such a way as to enable "the physical and mental capabilities of all the people to develop continuously together with the growth of production, the rise in the living standard, and the gradual reduction of working hours." Science, education, the arts, and other cultural activities are to be fostered within the framework of socialist purposes. In all of these areas of activity the Constitution declares that "the central direction of society and the state in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism shall

be effectively combined with the broad authority and responsibility of lower organs, drawing on the initiative and active participation of the working people."

The Constitution affirms that the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is a part of the world socialist system, with the KSC described as the guiding force of both the state and society, and the vanguard of the working class. In the preamble the party is credited with leading the nation in the great proletarian revolution that brought about the triumph of socialism. The preamble also proclaims the Soviet Union as a great fraternal ally of the Czechoslovak people.

The Constitutional Law of 1968

On January 5, 1968, Alexander Dubcek, a Slovak, replaced Antonin Novotny as head of the KSC. This signaled the beginning of a gradual reversal of the centralization policies pursued under Novotny's leadership and a growing sentiment for the development of a federal system that would assure the Slovaks' autonomy within the Czechoslovak nation. On June 24 the National Assembly approved the guidelines for a future federal system of government, and work went forward on a new constitutional law to bring the system into existence.

Progress on the development of a federal system was interrupted by the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet army and forces of other Warsaw Pact states on August 20, 1968 (see ch. 7, Political Dynamics and Values). In late October, however, the federalization bill was unanimously passed by the National Assembly, and it entered into force on January 1, 1969. The new legislation, promulgated as the Constitutional Law of October 1968, amended 58 of the 112 articles of the 1960 Constitution and established the general principles of the federal structure. It was anticipated that many of the operative details of the revised system of government would be implemented through subsequent legislation.

Proclaiming the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic a federal state, the new constitutional law established as the state's component units "two equal fraternal nations": the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic. Each of the constituent republics was provided with its own legislative and executive bodies. The federal government retained exclusive jurisdiction over foreign relations, national defense, federal reserves and national resources, and the protection of the federal Constitution. Federal courts also had exclusive jurisdiction in these areas.

Matters of joint jurisdiction of the federal and republic governments included: planning, finance, banking, price control, foreign trade, industry, agriculture, transportation, postal and communications services, science and technological development,

internal and state security, labor policy and affairs of the mass information media. In each of these areas, federal committees were established to operate in conjunction with the governments of the two republics.

Among the most significant of the changes from the 1960 Constitution was the replacement of the unicameral National Assembly with a bicameral body, known as the Federal Assembly; the assembly consisted of the House of the People, elected from the federation as a whole, and the House of Nations, with an equal number of delegates from each of the two national units. Both houses are considered to have equal status. To allay the longstanding Slovak fears of domination by the Czech majority, the constitutional law provides that federal legislation on certain subjects, such as citizenship, currency, taxation, and budget, requires a majority vote in both the Czech and Slovak sections of the House of Nations. Specific matters of major importance—the election of the president, constitutional amendments, and a declaration of war—require a 60 percent majority in each half (Czech and Slovak) of the House of Nations, as well as a 60 percent vote in the House of the People.

Later Amendments

With the installation of new government and party leaders after the 1968 invasion and the progressive elimination of the reformist leadership of the Dubcek era, the areas of jurisdiction of the constituent republics were again restricted, particularly in the economic field. In December 1970 the 1968 Constitutional Law was amended by several measures that embodied a series of changes, clarifications, and additions to the Constitution.

Whereas the 1968 document had referred to the economy of the country as an integration of two national economies, the amended constitutional law declares the economy to be homogeneous. Rather than affirming, as did the 1968 law, that the two republics have their own individual economies, the amendments assert that the "Czech and Slovak nations unite their endeavors in the interest of intensive development of the socialist economy." The amendments also stress the overall uniformity of the economic and social sectors, declaring that it is only the unified planned economy of the federation that makes possible the uniform application of socialist ownership, a single currency, a uniform economic policy, a uniform system of management, and a uniform policy of employment and placement of the labor force. In essence, it appears that the changes signal a reemphasis of the role of the republics and a return to a greater concentration of control in the central government (see ch. 10, Character and Structure of the Economy).

Several additional amendments also appear to be designed to strengthen the control of the federal authorities. One addition to the 1968 Constitutional Law specifically establishes the right of the central government to supervise all areas of economic policy and to monitor the republics' implementation of measures of the federal organs. In 1970 a special control agency was set up to perform this watchdog role. Another addition affirms the interest of the federal government in those basic and conceptual matters of importance to all of society, even in those areas that fall under the jurisdiction of the republics. At the same time, the central government is given authority to ensure the uniform application of federal policy throughout the entire territory of the federation. The central government is also authorized to halt the implementation of measures of a republic government, or abrogate them, if they conflict with federal statutes.

The 1968 Constitutional Law had established a system of federal committees to deal with matters of joint federal-republic jurisdiction. Functioning under the direction of a minister of the federal government, the committees consisted of an equal number of appointees from each of the two republics. The 1970 amendments, however, eliminated the federal committee system completely, dropping the term from the Constitution and repealing the special 1968 law on federal committees. The same series of amendments also eliminated the practice, established by the 1968 Constitutional Law, of naming a state secretary to each of the federal ministries. The law had provided that the minister and the secretary could not be of the same republic.

STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF THE GOVERNMENT

The Central Government

The Executive

Although the Constitution in force in mid-1971 declares the Federal Assembly to be the supreme organ of state power, in practice its authority ranks below that of the KSC and the executive branch of the government. The executive consists of the president, the premier, deputy premiers, and the federal ministers. In the Constitution the premier, his deputies, and the cabinet ministers are collectively termed "the government," which is described as the highest executive organ of the nation and is, in theory, answerable to the Federal Assembly (see ch. 7. Political Dynamics and Values).

The President. Chosen by the KSC and formally elected by the Federal Assembly to a five-year term of office, the president of the republic serves as head of state but not as the chief executive. He represents the nation in its external relations, receives and appoints

envoys, convenes the Federal Assembly, and signs laws into force. He is commander in chief of the armed forces and is empowered to appoint the premier and other members of the government as well as certain higher state and military officials.

Although the president has the right to attend sessions of the Federal Assembly and, when present, to act as its chairman, he has no specific right of veto over legislative matters. The Constitution does allow a degree of flexibility in the powers of the president, however, declaring that he "also has powers which are not explicitly stated in this constitutional law, if a Federal Assembly law so prescribes."

There is no vice president; the Constitution provides that, in the event the presidential office becomes vacant, the premier may be entrusted with the performance of the president's duties. In such an instance, the premier, acting in the capacity of the president, would also function as commander in chief of the armed forces.

The Office of the President was reorganized by a National Assembly law that became effective on January 1, 1969, the same date on which the federation law entered into force. The law provided for a state secretary of the president to assist the chief executive in fulfilling his duties. Appointed by the president, the secretary is charged with the organization and supervision of the president's administrative staff and is authorized to participate in meetings of the executive branch of the government on the president's behalf. The Military Office of the President, established by the same law, is headed by a presidentially appointed chief and is concerned with tasks related to the function of the president as commander in chief of the armed forces.

The Government. Constitutionally defined as the nation's highest executive authority, the government is composed of the premier, six deputy premiers, fifteen ministers, five chairmen of national commissions, the chief of the Chancellery of the Premier, and the chief of the Office of the Government Presidium. Although the government is appointed by the president, it is responsible only to the Federal Assembly, which, at least in theory, has the power to vote it out of office. After appointment by the president, the members of the government are obliged to appear before the assembly, at which time the premier submits his program and asks for a vote of confidence. If either of the two houses of the assembly refuses the premier a vote of confidence, the president is directed to recall the government. The right of recall may also be applied to an individual member of the government from whom one of the assembly chambers withdraws a vote of confidence.

The amended 1968 Constitutional Law described the duties of the government as the fulfillment of the federation's tasks in the areas of defense, national security, foreign policy, the building of the economy, the implementation of Federal Assembly laws, and the direction and

control of the federal ministries and other federal organs. By the 1970 amendments, the government was authorized to establish the presidium (or inner cabinet) of the government and to determine its function and responsibilities. The presidium was already in existence on an unofficial basis, and it appears that its constitutional recognition was a move to legitimize control of a key decisionmaking body of the government that was already firmly in the hands of men who simultaneously held important party posts or who were, at least, closely aligned with the ideology of the KSC. Composed of the premier and the six deputy premiers, the presidium supervises and controls the activities of the federal ministries and oversees the general operations of the government's administrative organs.

The number of ministries and the division of responsibilities among them has varied, depending upon circumstances. In 1971 there were twelve federal ministries. In addition, the government included the heads of the State Planning Commission, the People's Control Committee, the Federal Price Office, the Committee for Industry, and the Committee for Press and Information (see fig. 4).

Established in late 1970, the State Planning Commission was designed to be the central organ for national economic planning and development. The commission consists of a chairman who is, by virtue of this position, a deputy premier of the government; a deputy chairman, who has the rank of minister; members from each of the two constituent republics who are in charge of their respective planning organs; and an unspecified number of additional members. The chairman and deputy chairmen are appointed by the president; other members are appointed by the government.

Acting on instructions received from the top echelons of the KSC and the government, the State Planning Commission organizes the overall process of the preparation and implementation of the national economic plan. The commission also has the task of studying the system of planned economic management, proposing improvements, and coordinating economic planning among the other organs of the federal and republic governments.

The same law that established the State Planning Commission also set up the People's Control Committee as the central organ of state administration for the supervision and control of all aspects of socialist development. Subunits of the control agency were established at all levels of government to monitor economic, political, and social organizations in order to ensure conformity with the national economic plan, government directives, and party ideology. The chairman of the People's Control Committee on the federal level is a member of the government. Committee membership consists of twelve to sixteen persons who are appointed by the government.

An agency for price policy and control, the Federal Price Office was also established by the 1970 law, with its chairman designated a

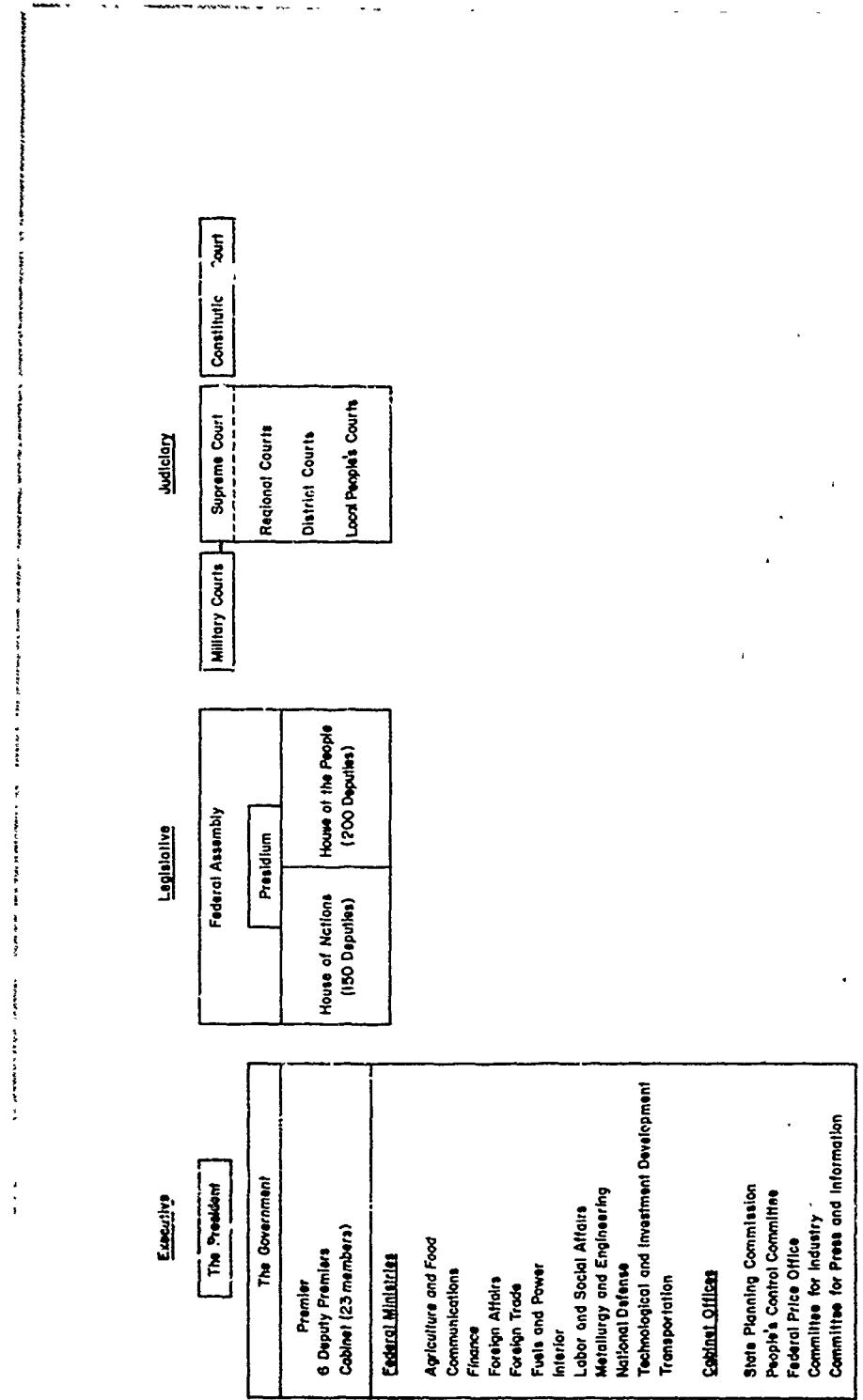


Figure 4. Structure of the Federal Government of Czechoslovakia, 1971.

member of the government. Responsibilities of the Federal Price Office include the formation of price policy for products, services, and wages. Within the area of its jurisdiction, the price office is empowered to issue regulations that are legally binding and is given authority over the price control organs of the republics in areas where federation-wide uniform price policy is considered essential.

The government is closely tied to the KSC, both through the party membership of most of its members and through parallel organs of the party, which correspond to the government ministries and supervise their activities. Each of the ministers, chairmen of special organizations, and heads of administrative divisions has a counterpart in the KSC apparatus who coordinates party policy and provides party supervision.

The Legislature

Theoretically incorporating through representation the sovereign will of the people, the bicameral Federal Assembly is described by the Constitution as the highest organ of state power. It consists of two houses having equal powers: the House of the People, with 200 deputies elected from the country as a whole; and the House of Nations, made up of 150 deputies—75 from each of the two constituent republics. Representatives to both houses are elected to four-year terms of office, all terms beginning and ending at the same time. Assembly sessions are held twice yearly, in the spring and the fall; the forty-member presidium acts on behalf of the assembly when it is not in session.

When the bicameral system was established by the 1968 Constitutional Law, the existing unicameral National Assembly became the House of the People. The second chamber, the House of Nations, was formed when the Czech National Council and the Slovak National Council, the legislative bodies in the two republics, each elected seventy-five deputies from among their own membership to serve on the new body.

As the House of the People is directly elected by the entire voting constituency of the country, its makeup reflects the relative strengths of the two major population groups and results in approximately a two-to-one majority of Czechs over Slovaks in this chamber. The House of Nations, on the other hand, provides each nation parity, each electing half of the 150 deputies. Legislation must be approved by both houses and, for certain matters, legislation passed by the House of Nations requires a majority vote of both the Czech and Slovak deputies.

Organizationally, the Federal Assembly is structured around the presidium, headed by a chairman and a deputy chairman, which bridges the two chambers. The Constitution requires that twenty members be elected from each of the two houses and that those

elected from the House of Nations must be equally divided between the Czech and Slovak sections. The chairman and deputy chairman are elected by the entire Federal Assembly from among the members of the presidium and must not be from the same republic. Each of the two houses also elects its own three- to six-member presidium.

When the Federal Assembly is not in session, the presidium is empowered to carry out most legislative functions. The presidium constitutionally does not have jurisdiction to act on some important matters, such as the election of the president; the amending of the Constitution; the dissolution of the government; or, except in extraordinary circumstances, the making of a declaration of war. All measures passed by the presidium, theoretically, must be approved by the next full session of the Federal Assembly or become inoperative. Actually, approval is a formality.

Constitutionally, the Federal Assembly has exclusive jurisdiction in all matters of foreign policy, fundamental matters of domestic policy, the economic plan, and supervision of and control over the executive branch of government. In practice, however, the Federal Assembly has been relegated to a subservient role, and its function in the legislative field is largely confined to approving measures placed before it by the executive and the Central Committee of the KSC.

The Judiciary

The judicial system includes the Supreme Court and regional, district, local, and military courts. With the creation of the federation, the special Constitutional Court was established to rule on cases of conflict between legislative measures of the republic and federal assemblies. As the highest level of the regular court system, the Supreme Court supervises the activities of all lower courts. Specific areas of responsibility for each level are defined by law; the military courts function under special regulations, but the Supreme Court also acts as the highest military court.

The different areas of jurisdiction of the Constitutional Court and the Supreme Court were indicated by a Slovak legal expert writing in 1968, during the time when the federation law was being developed. The writer pointed out that the Constitutional Court was designed to maintain order and stability in the political life of the federation, whereas the Supreme Court would function to adjudicate conflicts concerning citizens' rights.

Under the federal system established in 1968 there is no federal ministry of justice, the tasks of the former justice ministry having been taken over by the republic governments. Supervision of the observance and application of the law is exercised on the federal level by the Office of the Procurator, headed by the procurator general. Appointed by the president of the republic, the procurator general has

control over the offices of the regional and district prosecutors and is responsible only to the Federal Assembly.

The regime also gives the courts and legal offices educative and criticizing functions. Besides the protection of the social and political order and the rights and interests of citizens, the Constitution assigns the courts and the Office of the Procurator the task of educating citizens "to be loyal to their country and the cause of socialism, to abide by the laws and rules of socialist conduct, and honorably to fulfill their duties toward the state and society."

Judges of the Supreme Court, as well as those on the regional and district levels, are elected for four-year terms of office. The Federal Assembly elects Supreme Court judges. Those of regional courts are elected by regional national committees; district court judges are elected directly by citizens voting by secret ballot. In localities and places of work, local people's courts function to assure the "safeguarding of social order and the rules of socialist conduct." Federal law specifies the extent of jurisdiction of these local people's courts as well as the manner of their election and terms of office.

Theoretically independent, the courts are charged to interpret laws and other legal regulations "in the spirit of socialist legality." Judges are required to submit reports on the activities of their courts to their electors and, within specified conditions, are subject to recall by the same bodies that placed them in office. Although there is no trial by jury, in principle, all court proceedings are to be oral and public.

According to law the Constitutional Court rules on the conformity of Federal Assembly laws and legislative measures of the Czech and Slovak national councils with the federal Constitution. Regulations issued by federal ministries and other federal or republic agencies may also be submitted to this court for examination. Other areas of responsibility include the adjudication of jurisdictional conflicts between the republics or between the federal government and the republics. The court also has authority to suggest improvements in legislation and to examine certain complaints involving the election or recall of Federal Assembly deputies. There is no evidence that this court has actually functioned in its assigned role or whether it exists only on paper.

Composed of twelve members—eight judges and four alternates—the membership of the Constitutional Court must be evenly divided between the two constituent republics, with four judges and two alternates elected from each. Any citizen who is eligible to be a deputy of the Federal Assembly, who has reached the age of thirty-five, and who has at least ten years' experience in the legal profession may be elected a member of the Constitutional Court. Judges, who may not simultaneously hold another elected or appointed office, are elected by the Federal Assembly for seven-year terms and may not serve for more than two terms. The Federal Assembly designates a

chairman and deputy chairman of the Constitutional Court, the Constitution stipulating that they not both be from the same republic.

Republic and Local Government

State organs of the two constituent republics, the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic, consist, in each instance, of legislative bodies, called national councils, and the executive branch, known as the government. The national councils are described as the highest organs of state power in the republics, and the government, as the highest executive power. The seat of the Czech Socialist Republic is Prague, and that of the Slovak Socialist Republic is Bratislava.

Because of the numerical superiority of the Czech population, the Czech National Council consists of 200 representatives, whereas 150 representatives make up the Slovak National Council. Other than the difference in the number of deputies, the provisions of the federal Constitution apply equally to the councils of both republics. Deputies are elected to five-year terms of office; the councils must hold at least two sessions annually; and each republic council elects its own presidium, which acts as its governing body. The presidium, consisting of a chairman, deputy chairman, and one to four other members, is empowered to act when the National Council is not in session.

In each of the two republics the executive branch consists of a premier, two deputy premiers, and several ministers. Republic government organization was changed a number of times during the late 1960s, and there were, in 1970, seventeen ministries in the Czech government and fifteen in that of the Slovak republic. In December 1970, however, the republic governments were again restructured. In the Czech Socialist Republic the ministries of planning, post and telecommunications, and transportation were abolished. The responsibilities of the Ministry of Planning were passed to a new body called the Czech Planning Commission; the Czech Supreme Control Office, set up in February 1969, was replaced by the Czech People's Control Committee, the republic-level counterpart of the federal People's Control Committee. The duties of the Ministry of Transportation and the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications were temporarily placed with other organs of the republic government (see fig. 5).

Similar changes were made in the organization of the Slovak Socialist Republic. The Ministry of Planning and the Ministry of Transportation, Posts, and Telecommunications were dropped. As in the Czech republic, a Slovak planning commission was established to take over the responsibilities of the Ministry of Planning, and the

THE CZECH SOCIALIST REPUBLIC		THE SLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC	
Executive	Legislative	Executive	Legislative
Premier Deputy Premier Ministers	Czech National Council (200 Deputies)	Premier Deputy Premier, Ministers	Slovak National Council (150 Deputies)
<u>Ministries</u>		<u>Ministries</u>	
Agriculture and Food Building Industry Culture Development and Technology Education Finance Forestry and Water Conservation Health Industry Interior Justice Labor and Social Affairs Trade Youth and Physical Training		Agriculture and Food Building Industry Culture Development and Technology Education Finance Forestry and Water Conservation Health Industry Interior Justice Labor and Social Affairs Trade	
<u>Ministry Equivalents</u>		<u>Ministry Equivalents</u>	
Czech Planning Commission People's Control Committee		Slovak Planning Commission People's Control Committee	

Figure 5. Organization of Republic Governments of Czechoslovakia, 1971.

People's Control Committee was established to replace the Slovak Supreme Control Office. Other organs of the Slovak government assumed the functions of the Ministry of Transportation, Posts, and Telecommunications

Relations between the republic executive branches and the republic legislative bodies follow a pattern very similar to that existing between the federal government and the Federal Assembly. The republic government is appointed by the Presidium of the National Council and, after appointment, the premier is required to appear before the council with the members of his government, submit his program, and seek a vote of confidence. Members of the republic cabinets are prohibited from serving concurrently as members of the Presidium of the National Council or on the republic Constitutional Court.

Matters not specifically assigned to the federal government or to joint federal-republic jurisdiction belong exclusively to the republics. Areas of joint jurisdiction include planning, finance, banking, price control, agriculture, transportation, post and telecommunications, labor policy, internal order and security, and matters of the press and other information media. The leaders of the postinvasion federal government initiated a series of amendments to the 1968 Constitutional Law that circumscribed many of the prerogatives of the republic governments in the economic sphere and reinstated centralized control (see ch. 10, Character and Structure of the Economy).

Below the level of the republics Czechoslovakia is divided into 10 regions (*kraje*), 108 districts (*okresy*), and several thousand municipal and local units. The organs of government on these levels, known as national committees (*narodni vybory*), function on the principle of

democratic centralism. The city of Prague is considered an additional regional unit and is subdivided into 10 districts, each with its own national committee. The 1968 Constitutional Law specifies that the republic governments direct and control the activities of all national committees within their territories.

The system of national committees was established at the close of World War II by the then existing provisional government and was used by the Communists as a means of consolidating and extending their control. A system for elections to national committees was outlined in the 1948 Constitution. Updated in 1954, the laws on national committees were subsequently revised for inclusion in the 1960 Constitution. According to the Constitution, the national committees are the broadest organization of the working people. They are composed of deputies who are elected by, and accountable to, the people. Their term of office is fixed at four years.

In an attempt to institute a two-level system of government within the republic to replace the existing three-level system, regional national committees were abolished in Slovakia in July 1969. The intent was to enhance the position of the Slovak republic government on the one hand and to bring the operation of the government closer to the people on the other by transferring additional responsibilities to the district governments. The new system was difficult to establish, however, for the district committees proved inadequate to deal with regional issues that overlapped their administrative boundaries. In December 1970 the Slovak National Council reestablished the regional governments, returning to them much the same responsibilities with which they had previously been charged.

On the local levels and in the enterprises and places of work the membership of the national committees consists of from 15 to 25 persons. National committees on the higher levels are proportionately larger—district committees having from 60 to 120 members, and regional committee membership numbering between 80 and 150 members. Each national committee elects a council from among its own membership. The council, composed of a chairman, one or more deputy chairmen, a secretary, and an unspecified number of members, acts as the coordinating and controlling body of the committee. To expedite the work of the committee, the council establishes commissions and other subcommittees and can issue decrees and ordinances within its area of jurisdiction.

The national committees on the local level are assigned particular areas of jurisdiction, including the maintenance of public order and the organizing of the people for the implementation of the political, economic, and cultural tasks assigned by the KSC and the central government. The Constitution charges the national committees with the responsibility of organizing and directing the economic, cultural, health, and social services in their areas. The committees must also

function to "ensure the protection of socialist ownership" and see that the "rules of socialist conduct are upheld." To prevent competition and conflict between local and national committees, the Constitution stresses that each committee "shall be guided by the principle that the interests of all the people of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic stand above sectional and local interests."

THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM

According to the 1960 Constitution, all power belongs to the working people. This power is exercised through representative bodies that, theoretically, are elected, controlled by, and accountable to the people. Emphasis is placed on the participation of all citizens through local organizations in their communities or places of work. Although the Constitution declares the right of citizens to participate in the election of all representative bodies on the basis of a direct, equal vote by secret ballot, it does not prescribe the organization of elections or determine the organ responsible for conducting them. At higher levels, KSC membership is generally a prerequisite for elective or appointive office and, at all levels, prior approval by the party is an essential requirement for nominees.

Voting rights are provided to all citizens eighteen years of age and older. On reaching the age of twenty-one any citizen can be a candidate for an elective office. General elections are organized by electoral commissions that function under the direction of the National Front—the body that incorporates the country's numerous mass organizations and the four subordinate political parties into a front organization under the leadership of the KSC. Although the right to nominate candidates extends to all member groups of the National Front, all candidates must have the front's official approval in order to be placed on the ballot. This ensures that only a candidate who is acceptable to the KSC will be placed in nomination. Elections have been held every four years but, beginning with those scheduled for late 1971, they will be held at five-year intervals in order that elections follow party congresses.

The National Front is organized on the national, republic, regional, district, and local levels. Almost all of the leading positions at every level are held by KSC members. Organizational membership in the front is diverse. In January 1969, for example, there were reportedly thirty-four different organizations represented in the Central Committee of the Slovak National Front, some of which were political parties, whereas others were structured on group interests.

The election of the president of the nation, as well as the selection of the members of the government, is indirect. Citizens vote directly for deputies to the republic assemblies and the Federal Assembly, and

the president is elected by the Federal Assembly on the informal but authoritative recommendation of the KSC Central Committee. The president, in turn, appoints the premier and other members of the government, again on the informal advice of the party leadership. After appointment, the government must be approved formally by both houses of the Federal Assembly.

Judges of the Constitutional Court and the Supreme Court are also elected by the Federal Assembly. Regional court judges are elected by the regional national committees, whereas those of the district courts are elected directly by citizens. Members of the local people's courts are elected directly by their constituents in the localities and places of work. Constitutionally, national committee members at all levels are supposed to be elected by the voting population of their jurisdictions; however, subsequent legislation allows for the membership of national committees on the higher levels to be elected by, and from, the membership of the units on the next lower level.

CHAPTER 7

POLITICAL DYNAMICS AND VALUES

In mid-1971 political power continued to be exercised by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (Komunisticka Strana Ceskoslovenska—KSC) and centralized in the Presidium of the Central Committee of the KSC under the leadership of the party's general secretary, Gustav Husak. All policy deliberations and decisions had to take into account the policies and preferences of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Because the government was looked upon by the KSC as an instrument of party control, all governmental activities were directed by the party. Through subservient political parties and a large number of mass organizations the party sought to permeate and mobilize all elements of the society. Participation in the political process was limited to the forms and means allowed by the KSC.

Before 1968 the concentration of all decisionmaking powers in the central organs of the party effectively precluded the emergence of any legitimate political groupings that might assert particular interests. As a result, the political activities of the population were circumscribed by a rigid, arbitrary, and bureaucratic system that served only to negate the constant party promises of greater freedoms, justice, and equality.

During the early 1960s an impetus for reform of the economic, social, and political systems began to develop among discontented elements of the party as well as the society in general. Despite attempts of the conservative forces in the party and government to maintain firm control, the drive for reform gained momentum and eventually fostered a change in the top party leadership, with the primary party post going to Alexander Dubcek, a Slovak (see ch. 4, The Social Setting). The reform measures permitted by the new regime generated great concern among the leaders of the Soviet Union and certain other member states of the Warsaw Pact, resulting in the invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 and the eventual installation of a regime more amenable to Soviet control. The period since the reestablishment of conservative party leadership has been marked by the elimination from political life of those who were responsible for the 1968 reforms.

In the tense atmosphere that followed the 1968 invasion and the installation of the new regime in 1969 the party leaders made s

concerted effort to demonstrate to the Soviet Union their ability to control the country. Powerless to change the situation, most citizens reluctantly accommodated to the restored conservative regime and attempted to make the best of existing conditions. A new wave of political apathy was manifested by a decline in party membership, particularly among the youth, and by an unwillingness to participate in the programs of the party and mass organizations. Although strong pressures for change continued to exist in several quarters, by the summer of 1971 the regime felt secure enough in its position to proclaim an end to the party membership purge and announce that the normalization sought by the Soviet Union had been achieved.

MAJOR POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS, 1960 THROUGH 1970

Sources of Political Conflict

The early 1960s were years of struggle within the KSC. That period marked a turning point in Czechoslovak domestic politics that resulted in the conservatives of the party finding themselves on the defensive for the first time since the Communists seized control of the government in 1948. Since its founding in 1921 the KSC had demonstrated unquestioning obedience to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and, during the early years of communist rule, Czechoslovakia had been one of the most Stalinist of the Eastern European communist states.

Nikita Khrushchev's rise to power in the Soviet Union and his initiation of a program of de-Stalinization fostered domestic expectations of reform in Czechoslovakia and provided discontented elements of the society with issues on which to challenge the regime. Thoroughly Stalinist in orientation and method, the KSC leadership, under the direction of party First Secretary Antonin Novotny, found the transition from Stalin to Khrushchev perilous and difficult. Consequently, de-Stalinization in Czechoslovakia was largely verbal and symbolic, as the entrenched communist leaders followed a slow and cautious course. Although Novotny and other leading party figures echoed the condemnations of the Stalinist cult of personality that emanated from the Soviet leaders, they took no significant measures to modify their own Stalinism.

In matters of international communism and ideology, the Novotny regime's unqualified endorsement of the position of the Soviet Union resulted in a growing dilemma on the domestic front. Several gestures were made toward de-Stalinization, but the existing system remained basically unchanged. In his public pronouncements Novotny spoke positively of progress made in eliminating the consequences of the

Stalin era, but the party continued to exercise strict control over all aspects of Czechoslovak life.

Discontent with the regime was evidenced throughout 1962, and KSC leaders increasingly emphasized the need for discipline within the party and the importance of centralized planning and decisionmaking. To counter voices of opposition the KSC reasserted its control of economic and cultural affairs. The few concessions made to mollify the malcontents within and outside the party were narrowly circumscribed as the leaders sought to avoid any action that might result in threats to their own positions or to continued KSC control. Opposition elements had hoped that some modification of the regime's strict policies would come out of the Twelfth Party Congress held in December 1962; when no significant changes were forthcoming, dissatisfaction grew and pressures on the regime increased.

Opposition to the Novotny regime stemmed from problems in the economy, cultural and ethnic issues, and youth unrest. The economic difficulties were further aggravated in 1967, when production fell and national income dropped almost 4 percent from the 1962 level. Ethnic cleavages, a perennial problem for the government, were exacerbated under the Novotny leadership, with the Slovaks charging that government policies continually discriminated against their region. Intellectuals, particularly writers and journalists, called for reforms in cultural policies, advocated increased freedom of expression, and demanded redress for the victims of the political purges of the Stalin era. Youthful discontent with the educational system gradually broadened in scope, and the young people brought their demands in line with those of the reform-oriented writers and journalists.

Congresses of the Slovak Writers' Union, the Czechoslovak journalists, and the Czechoslovak Writers' Union, meeting in April and May 1963, became forums of criticism and dissent. There was sharp discussion of such issues as freedom of expression, press censorship, the character of the economic system, political reform, and foreign policy. Novotny and other KSC leaders, sensing a changing mood of the rank and file and feeling their positions threatened, struck back at their attackers, warning against those who were searching for "a new model in the sphere of socialism" and charging that in reality they were seeking "a new model in the sphere of ideology."

Another event that weakened the authority of the regime during 1963 was the publication of the report of the commission that had been investigating the purge trials of the 1950s (see ch. 3, Historical Setting). The report revealed that the trials and convictions had been politically motivated and based on fabrications. Of the nearly 500 cases reviewed, almost all of the condemned (who had been either

imprisoned or executed) were fully rehabilitated, although some among them were cleared of criminal offenses only and were still held guilty of antiparty activities. One result of the report was a further discrediting of the regime in the eyes of the public, particularly since a number of those who figured prominently in conducting the trials were still associated with it.

Distrust of the regime grew particularly acute among Slovak students and intellectuals. Leaders of the Communist Party of Slovakia (Komunisticka Strana Slovenska—KSS), because of their concurrent roles in the KSC, were considered ineffective in articulating Slovak demands. Headed by Alexander Dubcek, who had succeeded to the post of first secretary on the ouster of Karel Bacilek in May 1963 and who was also a member of the KSC Presidium and Secretariat, the KSS was, at this time, generally aligned with Novotny and the conservative forces of the party.

The continued deterioration of the economy made it essential that some action be taken to correct the situation. Although the KSC leadership was reluctant to permit a revision of the centralized economic system, in late 1963 the Central Committee commissioned a group of economic experts and party representatives, headed by the socialist economist Ota Sik, to work on the problem. The plan developed by this commission was presented to the Central Committee Presidium in September 1964 as "a new system of management of the national economy." It subsequently came to be known as the New Economic Model.

The Presidium adopted the guiding principles of the model, but the overall proposals fostered deep differences of opinion within the party's leading bodies (see ch. 10, Character and Structure of the Economy). Conservative elements in the party, fearing the implications in the model for the development of a market economy based on supply and demand and a downgrading of centralized planning, were able to block its implementation until January 1967, and many of the projected reforms never passed the blueprint stage.

Student unrest, evidenced in 1964 with periodic demonstrations culminating in a four-hour riot in Wenceslas Square in October, added to the regime's difficulties. In November, however, Novotny was reelected as president of the country and continued, as well, to hold the supreme party post. As the reform voices lacked cohesive leadership and direction, the regime appeared secure to outside observers. Throughout 1965 and 1966 the struggle between the conservative and reformist elements continued inconclusively. In 1967, however, the conflict deepened.

Events Leading to the Change of Leadership

Continued opposition from the diverse reform-oriented groups prompted the regime to institute limited reforms in some instances, but the most frequent regime response to its opponents was in the form of repressive measures. The New Economic Model officially went into effect in January 1967, although the party leaders did little to encourage its full implementation. Early in the year Novotny named one of his conservative supporters as minister of culture and initiated a crackdown on the press and intellectuals. A new press law legalized the regime's censorship policies, and a special license was required for all publishing activity.

At the summer congress of the Czechoslovak Writers' Union the censorship measures were strenuously criticized, and the party, in response, refused permission for the speeches to be published. After the congress the leading critical spokesmen were expelled from the KSC, and the leading literary journal of the writers' union, *Literarni Noviny*, was taken over by the government. Other opponents of regime policies were dismissed from their posts, and the party leadership launched an intensive program of propaganda and coercion in an effort to maintain control.

Slovak opposition to the Novotny regime reached its zenith in the latter half of 1967. In August Novotny visited Slovakia and delivered a speech that proved offensive to the Slovak leaders, who openly disagreed with him and criticized his attitude. Angered, Novotny cut short his visit and left abruptly for Prague. KSS Chief Dubcek, who had continually supported the Prague regime, gradually emerged as a spokesman for the Slovak opposition.

The first significant public difference between Dubcek and Novotny came at the September plenum of the KSC Central Committee, when Dubcek criticized the regime's repression of writers, journalists, and other intellectuals and charged that investment funds designated for Slovakia were being withheld by the Prague bureaucracy. At the Central Committee session the following month the conflict between the two leaders was intensified. In the midst of the discussion the question of Slovak economic autonomy arose, but Dubcek declared, "Before we can talk of economic division, we must discuss political division, starting at the top with the party leadership." The open conflict in the top ranks of the KSC fostered an alliance between the Slovaks and the Czech progressives, who began to press for the removal of Novotny as party chief.

On the night of October 30 a demonstration by university students was strenuously suppressed by the police. The incident led to a day of rioting and violent confrontation between students and police, arousing almost the entire student community against the regime and

serving as another catalyst to coalesce the anti-Novotny forces. A brief visit to Prague by Soviet party chief Leonid Brezhnev in early December, apparently designed to demonstrate Soviet confidence in Novotny, did little or nothing to ensure the latter's tenure.

Amidst rumors that Novotny was preparing to have units of the Czechoslovak army encircle Prague and arrest his opponents, an emergency session of the KSC Presidium was summoned. The intraparty struggle continued until January 4, 1968, when Novotny was removed from his party post. Observers of Czechoslovak political affairs reported that agreement on Novotny's successor as first secretary of the KSC proved difficult and that Dubcek, who was not at that time the recognized leader of the reformist forces, was a compromise selection for the position.

Novotny retained his position as president of the country until late March when he was removed from that position also, although he continued as a member of the Central Committee until May. His successor as president was Ludvik Svoboda—a retired, noncontroversial army general who had been a purge victim in 1952 and had served a brief time in prison. Svoboda's contributions in two world wars were recognized in 1965 when he was awarded the titles of "Hero of the Soviet Union" and "Hero of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic."

An Era of Reform

The removal of Novotny from the leadership of the KSC triggered a wave of demands for further change in all sectors of the society. Dubcek, a Slovak with the reputation of being a loyal and dependable party man, proved responsive to political pressures and to the mood of the country. Restrictions on the communications media were removed, paving the way for a period of unparalleled public debate and fueling the mounting pressures on political leaders for reform. In the three months following the change of leadership, the reform movement gradually crystallized into programs of action.

In April 1968 the KSC Central Committee issued its so-called Action Program. Asserting that democracy was as important to socialism as discipline, the program called for expanded civil liberties and equal rights and opportunities for both Czechs and Slovaks in a federal state. Although the program preserved the primacy of the KSC, the party's role in national life was to be reduced, and its methods of leadership were to be substantially modified. At the same time, greater responsibilities were to be given to the elected bodies of the government, with the National Assembly having real legislative powers. The judiciary was also to be freed from the control of the executive branch of the government (see ch. 6, Governmental System). The result of the Action Program was to be "socialism with a human

face," a specifically "Czechoslovak way to socialism." With the initiation of the new program Premier Josef Lenart submitted the resignation of his government, and President Svoboda named reform-oriented Oldrich Cernik to form a new cabinet. Preparations were begun for the Fourteenth Party Congress scheduled for September, and work was initiated on the drafting of a new, federal constitution.

Developments in Czechoslovakia aroused deep concern among the leaders of the Soviet Union and the other communist states of Eastern Europe who feared that the impetus for reform would escape the control of the KSC and lead to the end of orthodox communism in the country. Certain of the communist leaders of Eastern Europe also feared the possible contagion of the Czechoslovak reformist ideas, the spread of which might pose serious threats to their own authority.

In March, Dubcek and four other members of the KSC Central Committee were summoned to a Warsaw Pact summit meeting in Dresden (East Germany), convened to inquire into events in Czechoslovakia. Although the report of the meeting made no direct attacks on the Czechoslovak leaders, the East German party press launched a campaign to discredit the Dubcek regime and banned the circulation of the German-language editions of Czech newspapers.

Soviet leaders were given additional cause for concern in April, when the Central Committee plenum failed to reelect a number of the more conservative members of the KSC Presidium. Only three members of the Presidium that had functioned under Novotny were reappointed to their positions. Attacks on the Soviet Union in the Czechoslovak press further antagonized the Soviets, who mounted pressures on the KSC leadership to bring the mass communications media back under full party control. After the publication of the Action Program, Western newspapers reported a statement by a Soviet army general asserting that Soviet forces would be responsive to appeals by faithful Communists seeking assistance in protecting communism in Czechoslovakia. In mid-May, Warsaw Pact forces staged maneuvers on Czechoslovakia's borders.

Pressures on the Dubcek regime were again increased at the end of May when it was announced that certain units of the Soviet army had crossed into Czechoslovakia, ostensibly to make preparations for additional Warsaw Pact maneuvers to be held on Czechoslovak territory in late June. The Czechoslovak situation had also been the subject of a meeting of the heads of the communist parties of the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, East Germany, Hungary, and Poland held earlier in the month in Moscow. Designed both to warn and to influence the reform-minded KSC leaders, these pressures prompted Dubcek and several of his colleagues to advocate caution, assert the leading role of the party, and make some attempt to control the momentum of the reform movement.

At the same time that external pressures were mounting, conservative forces within the KSC were organizing to block further reforms. Key positions in the party Secretariat and between forty and fifty seats on the 110-member Central Committee were still occupied by conservatives. Reformist members of the Central Committee did not have the required two-thirds majority to remove the conservatives and were forced to compromise on a number of what they considered vital reform issues.

In late June 1968 a document entitled *Two Thousand Words* was published by a reformist group consisting of intellectuals, professionals, and workers. Asserting that the reforms had not gone far enough and that the reform movement was faltering for lack of leadership, the declaration called upon the people to actively seek change on the local level and demand the resignation of officials who had misused their positions. It urged citizens to make their influence felt through public criticism, resolutions, demonstrations, strikes, and boycotts. In essence, the document was an appeal for grassroots political action in order to continue the drive for reform. Although it was immediately condemned by the Central Committee, the declaration served to confirm the suspicions of the Soviet leaders that the KSC had lost control of the situation.

After the completion of the Warsaw Pact maneuvers in June, the Soviets postponed the withdrawal of a portion of their troops. In the midst of increasing tension, elections were held for an extraordinary party congress scheduled for September, and the results went heavily against the conservatives. Again party leaders from the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, and East Germany came together, this time in Warsaw, and condemned the situation in Czechoslovakia as "absolutely unacceptable to socialist countries." At the same time, they asserted that a resolution of the matter was a legitimate concern to all members of the Warsaw Pact. Although the continuing external pressures served to strengthen the hand of the conservatives in the KSC, the Dubcek regime attempted to respond to these concerns without yielding the reforms already gained.

Bilateral discussions held with representatives of the Soviet Union at the end of July proved unable to reconcile the differences. At the conclusion of the talks it was decided to summon all Warsaw Pact members to a session in Bratislava beginning on August 3. The only published outcome of the Bratislava conference, however, was an ambiguous statement in which the members agreed to cooperate together on a basis of "equality, sovereignty, national independence, and territorial integrity." The communiqué generated a sense of relief among the Czechoslovaks; to some degree at least, the tensions appeared to ease. On the night of August 20 the forces of five Warsaw Pact states invaded and occupied the country.

The Aftermath of the Invasion

Within a few hours after news of the border crossing reached Prague, the KSC Presidium, which had been in the midst of a regular session, issued a statement over Prague radio condemning the invasion. The Presidium declaration affirmed that the country had been invaded, without invitation or legal sanction, by forces of five Warsaw Pact states. It appealed to the people to remain calm, asserted that the Czechoslovak army would not resist the invaders, and declared that the Czechoslovak government continued to exercise its legitimate functions.

The invasion had been timed to precede the congresses of the KSS and the KSC scheduled for September and thus prevent both additional legitimization of the reform efforts and the ouster of the remaining pro-Soviet conservatives from the leading party bodies. Although the official pronouncements of the invading powers alleged that they had been invited to intervene by KSC officials for the sake of the preservation of socialism, no party leaders would publicly admit to issuing such an invitation. The immediate effect of the occupation on the people of Czechoslovakia was one of seething resentment.

One of the first steps of the occupying forces was the arrest and removal to Moscow of Dubcek and several other key reform leaders with the intent, according to observers of Eastern European politics, of immediately installing a new pro-Soviet government. Such a move, however, proved unacceptable to Czechoslovak President Svoboda, who successfully resisted the efforts to obtain his endorsement of a new government. As a result, the Soviet leaders temporarily accepted the continuation of the existing Czechoslovak regime and entered into negotiations in Moscow with Dubcek and the other reformists.

On the day after the invasion, in the absence of Dubcek and the other arrested leaders, the Fourteenth Party Congress was called into an emergency session secretly in Prague. Of the 1,543 delegates who had been chosen in the June elections, 1,219 were reportedly in attendance. A new Presidium, composed of Dubcek supporters, and a new Central Committee were elected, and the congress called for the immediate removal of the occupation forces.

The outcome of four days of negotiations in the Soviet capital was the so-called Moscow Agreement, by which the Czechoslovaks approved the "temporary" stationing of Soviet forces in their country and agreed to withdraw the invasion issue from the agenda of the United Nations. For their part, the Soviets agreed to work with the existing party and government leadership and allow the continuation of the reform programs already instituted. It was also agreed that Soviet troops would not interfere in the internal affairs of the country and that once the political situation had been "normalized" the

occupation forces would be removed. Troops of the other states participating in the invasion were shortly withdrawn, leaving only Soviet forces to occupy the country. A treaty between the Czechoslovak and Soviet governments, legalizing the stationing of Soviet troops on Czech territory, was subsequently signed in Prague on October 16, 1968. Although one price of the Moscow Agreement was the annulment of the actions of the emergency session of the Fourteenth Party Congress, the Central Committee subsequently enlarged itself from 110 to 190 members and incorporated eighty of the congress delegates into its ranks. As a result, the new Central Committee was weighted in favor of the reformers and moderates in the party.

For a period of nearly eight months, from the August invasion to the Central Committee plenum of April 1969, the reform-oriented elements retained control of the leading party bodies, while the population followed a program of passive resistance and noncooperation with the occupiers. Although the regime was required to reimpose press censorship, it was not effectively enforced, and criticism of the invasion continued. Students demonstrated against the occupation.

The continued control of the Czechoslovak party and government by reformist elements was unacceptable to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to leaders of the other communist states that had participated in the invasion. Dubcek and his colleagues were attacked by the Soviet party press and charged with blocking a return to normalization—a term that was defined in the Bulgarian press as “the creation of conditions which ensure the socialist development of Czechoslovakia with the strengthened position of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.”

In March the victory of the Czechoslovak hockey team over that of the Soviet Union touched off jubilant anti-Soviet demonstrations, reportedly resulting in extensive damage to some Soviet commercial property and military installations. The incidents served as a pretext for the Soviets to force changes in the top KSC and government leadership. Soviet Defense Minister Marshal Andrei Grechko and Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir S. Semyonov arrived in Prague to engineer the desired changes. Under the renewed Soviet pressures the balance was tipped in favor of the KSC’s more conservative elements and, on April 17, Dubcek resigned his post. Reportedly on Dubcek’s recommendation, Gustav Husak replaced him as head of the KSC. Although several of his supporters were removed from the Presidium, Dubcek himself retained his seat on that body.

Husak, a Slovak, had been imprisoned during the Stalinist purges of the 1950s on charges of “Slovak nationalism” and “Titoism.” Fully rehabilitated in 1963, however, he returned to active party life. In August 1968 he became first secretary of the KSS and was named

chairman of the commission established to draft a new federal constitution. After the invasion by Warsaw Pact forces, Husak called for a realistic facing of the situation and a return to orthodox communism in order to normalize relations with the Warsaw Pact states—a step that he considered both politically necessary and economically vital.

The Return to Communist Orthodoxy

Under Husak's guidance the general orientation of the political system returned to the authoritarianism that had characterized the Novotny regime. Although the new federal system was allowed to come into effect on January 1, 1969, the regime gradually moved to circumscribe the autonomy of the two constituent republics and to reinstitute centralized control. Firm party control was progressively extended to all aspects of Czechoslovak life. Party authority over virtually all enterprises made job control an effective weapon to induce conformity, as hundreds of supporters of the reform movement found themselves in the ranks of the unemployed.

Academic life was also brought under direct party supervision. All faculty members who had signed the *Two Thousand Words* declaration were required to publicly repudiate the document or lose their positions. Special disciplinary commissions were set up to investigate the political activities of students, and party membership again became an important prerequisite for obtaining work or for advancement.

During 1969 and early 1970 the reformist elements were gradually eliminated from the top KSC and government bodies. In December 1969 Dubcek was appointed as ambassador to Turkey, and Oldrich Cernik, the premier during the Dubcek era, was demoted to the cabinet post of chairman of the Committee for Technical Development. He was replaced as premier by Lubomir Strougal, a deputy secretary of the KSC and a strong conservative. In January 1970 both Dubcek and Cernik were removed from the KSC Presidium. The author of the New Economic Model, Ota Sik, along with his family, asked for and received political asylum in Switzerland.

Police action was intensified, and a ban was placed on travel to Western countries. To prevent demonstrations on the first anniversary of the suicide of Jan Palach, a twenty-one-year-old university student who had immolated himself in Prague on January 17, 1969, in protest of the invasion and the return to orthodox communism, the police interrogated nearly 20,000 persons in and around Prague between January 12 and 15 and searched more than 2,000 premises. The minister of the interior reported that 50,000 Czechoslovak citizens remained out of the country and that only 40

percent of these were abroad legally. All visas that had been issued for visits to noncommunist countries were canceled.

Dubcek was dismissed from his post as ambassador to Turkey on June 24, 1970, and was recalled to face an inquiry into his activities while head of the KSC. On June 26 he was expelled from the party; on July 8, by unanimous vote, the Federal Assembly removed him from its membership. Cernik, the last of the reformers to retain a prominent position in Czechoslovak political life, had resigned from the government on June 23 and was also expelled from the KSC. Purges on local levels resulted in the removal of over 15,000 so-called rightist opportunists from local government bodies.

In early 1970 the purge of reformist elements was extended to the party rank and file. This was carried out by requiring all party members to exchange their membership documents. Persons of questionable loyalty to the new regime or those who had actively supported the reformists in 1968 were refused new documents unless they publicly recanted their errors. The party card exchange resulted in a more than 20 percent reduction in KSC membership.

In its efforts to demonstrate to the Soviet Union that it was effectively in control of the country, the restored conservative regime also brought the mass communications media firmly under party control. Reform-oriented editors were removed and replaced by those who were considered more politically reliable. At least ten of the more outspoken reformist periodicals were banned. Numerous cultural associations and unions continued to resist the regime's control, however, and prompted the government to take direct action against them. Control of the financial resources of the cultural associations was taken over by the government, and the minister of culture ruled that all foreign cultural contacts had to be made through his office. Plays and motion pictures objectionable to the regime were also banned.

At the December 1970 plenary session of the Central Committee, Husak announced the conclusion of the party purge. KSC statistics indicated that party membership had declined by nearly 500,000, or 28 percent, since January 1968. All but 6 percent of this reduction was attributed to the program of withholding party cards after the exchange of membership documents. The Central Committee session also approved and released the official analysis of the events that had taken place during the preceding few years.

The analysis, published under the title "Lessons from the Crisis Development in Party and Society Since the 13th Party Congress (1966)," was ostensibly an examination of "policy deformations" that led to the Warsaw Pact invasion. Primary blame was placed on Dubcek and "right-wing opportunists" who, according to the report, continued to be the principal threat to Czechoslovak socialist development. Reiterating what had come to be known as the invitation thesis, the document declared that the invasion had been

the legitimate response of the Warsaw Pact states to requests for aid in the protection of socialism from thousands of Czechoslovak citizens and leading officials of the party and government. Although Husák himself had publicly condemned the invasion at the time of its occurrence, at the plenary session he asserted that the "internationalist aid" had been the only means of saving Czechoslovak socialism in 1968.

The regular Fourteenth Party Congress was convened in May 1971, with Brezhnev and other party leaders of Warsaw Pact states in attendance. Nearly 1,200 delegates from local, district, and republic party organizations elected a new 115-member Central Committee and an 11-member Presidium and re-elected Husák to the leading party post—the title of which was changed from first secretary to general secretary. Husák declared that the normalization called for in the 1968 Moscow Agreement had been achieved. Major purposes of the congress included the demonstration of full KSC control of the country and the party's complete alignment with the policies of the Soviet Union. Gratitude to the Soviet Union for the protection of the Czechoslovak socialist system was one of the dominant themes of the congress.

Several observers of Eastern European political affairs noted that Brezhnev raised the possibility of political trials for leaders of the 1968 reform attempts. Although a number of the hardliners in the KSC had repeatedly urged show trials of the prominent reformists, Husák, who had himself been a purge victim of the 1950s, had carefully avoided such a course after taking over as head of the party. In early June 1971 some Western news services reported that a compromise had been worked out at the Fourteenth Party Congress between moderates and the conservative advocates of political trials. By this compromise Novotny was restored to party membership in exchange for an agreement to drop the trial demands. Other observers suggested, however, that political trials, reminiscent of the purges of the Stalinist era, remained a distinct possibility. By mid-1971 no show trials had taken place.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

Formed in 1921, the KSC existed during the interwar period as one among some twenty political parties and never obtained enough strength to be included in a government. During World War II many of the KSC leaders sought refuge in the Soviet Union, where they made extensive preparations to increase the party's power base once the war was ended. In the early postwar period the Communists

launched a sustained drive for political power that culminated in their seizure of the government in 1948. Once in control, the KSC evolved an organizational structure and administrative policy patterned closely after that of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (see ch. 3, Historical Setting).

Organization

KSC organization is based on the Leninist concept of democratic centralism that provides for the election of party leaders at each level but requires that each level be fully subject to the control of the next higher unit. Party ideologists assert that democratic centralism is the most important principle in the organizational structure and activity of the party. In accord with this principle, party programs and policies are directed from a single center, and resolutions of higher organs are unconditionally binding on all lower organs as well as on individual members. In theory, policy matters are freely and openly discussed at congresses, conferences, and membership meetings and in the party press; however, party discipline requires that lower echelons must fully submit to decisions of higher echelons.

According to party statutes, the supreme KSC organ is the party congress, which is convened every five years at the direction of the Central Committee. In theory, the party congress makes basic policy decisions, but in practice the Presidium of the Central Committee is the center for decisionmaking and policy control, and the congresses never question the reports and directives of the party leaders. Duties assigned to the party congress by the statutes include the discussion and approval of the reports of the Central Committee and the Central Control and Auditing Commission, the determination of the party position in matters of domestic and foreign policy, approval of the party program and statutes, and the election of the Central Committee and the Central Control and Auditing Commission.

In the interim between congresses the Central Committee is charged with the direction of all party activities and the implementation of the general policy decisions set down by the party congress. The statutes also provide for the Central Committee to be the primary arm of KSC control over the organs of the federal government and the republics, the National Front, and all cultural and professional organizations. Party members who hold leading positions in these bodies are responsible directly to the Central Committee for carrying out of KSC policies. In addition, the Central Committee screens all nominations for important government and party positions and selects the editor in chief of *Rude Pravo*, the principal party organ. The Central Committee is required by party statutes to meet in full session at least three times a year.

KSC Central Committee membership has varied from 80 to 150 persons, with the Fourteenth Party Congress held in May 1971 (the

so-called Fourteenth Party Congress of August 1968 had been declared illegal and its actions voided) naming a 115-member committee. From among its members the Central Committee elects the Presidium to conduct the work of the party between full committee sessions. In mid-1971 the Presidium was composed of eleven members and was the central KSC authority. To administer the day-to-day affairs of the party the Central Committee also appoints the party Secretariat; a number of Central Committee department chiefs with specific areas of responsibility in policy matters; and the general secretary, who is the head of the party. The designation of the party chief as general secretary rather than first secretary was a change introduced at the congress and marked a return to the title employed during the period before 1951.

Although ostensibly elected or appointed by the Central Committee, the Presidium is a self-perpetuating body, and any change in its membership or in that of the Secretariat is generated from within rather than through democratic processes of the Central Committee. General Secretary Husak and three other secretaries concurrently hold membership in the Presidium, providing an interlocking of authority and functions at the highest levels of the party.

The Secretariat functions as the continuing administrative unit of the KSC. Under the direction of Husak and six other secretaries, the Secretariat is, after the Presidium, the strategic political organ of the party and the nerve center of the KSC's extensive control mechanism. Subdivided into sections, the Secretariat supervises all party organization, oversees the functioning of the government apparatus and the armed forces, and controls and directs the work of subordinate organizations.

Another important party agency that functions under the direction of the Central Committee is the Central Control and Auditing Commission, with responsibility for party discipline and party finance. As an organ for the enforcement of standards of party life, the commission has frequently wielded its power to suspend or expel deviant party members. It also examines and oversees the accounts of party organizations and enterprises. Subunits of the commission exist on republic, regional, and district levels of the party structure.

Other KSC commissions include the Commission of Agriculture and Food Supplies, the Economic Commission, and the Ideological Commission. Departments functioning under the Central Committee in 1970 were: agriculture; economy; education, science, and culture, elected state organs; ideology; industry, transport, and communication; international affairs; organization and politics; press, radio, and television; social organizations; and state administration. Also under the Central Committee was the Advanced School of Politics. In most instances the party departments paralleled agencies

of the government and supervised their activities to ensure conformity with KSC norms and programs.

The party is structured on what it calls the "territorial and production principle," with the basic party units organized in places of work and residence where there are at least five party members. There were reportedly 44,500 of these basic units in 1968. In enterprises or communities where party membership is more numerous, the smaller units function under larger city, village, or factory-wide committees. Described in the statutes as the basis of all party organization, these local units have specific responsibilities, including participation in the direction of the economic enterprises, the training and indoctrination of members, propaganda directed at nonmembers, active participation in social, economic, and cultural activities, and criticism aimed at improving socialist development and community life.

The highest authority of the local organization is the monthly membership meeting—attendance at which is a basic duty of every member. Each group selects its own leaders, consisting of a chairman and one or more secretaries, and names delegates to the conference of the next unit. In all its activities the local unit is required to maintain party discipline and follow policy directives set down by higher KSC authorities.

Above the local units in the KSC structure are the district and regional levels. All of the basic local units in a district form a district organization and, in turn, the districts are formed into a regional organization (see ch. 6, Governmental System). Authority and responsibility are delegated from the higher KSC bodies through these successive tiers of the party structure; the regional committees work out the basic programs for the region and guide the district committees while the district organizations oversee and direct the local party units. General tasks of the district and regional organizations include economic development, ideological work, selection and placing of personnel, implementation of party policies, and submission of proposals for the development and improvement of their areas to higher party bodies.

A district conference must be convened every two or three years. Between conferences the work of the district organization is carried on by the district committee under the direction of a presidium and a secretariat. Membership in the district committee is limited to individuals who have been party members for at least four years, and the principal district officer, the district secretary, must have completed eight years of party membership.

A similar structure exists on the regional level, with the conference described in the party statutes as the supreme regional authority. Delegates to the regional conference are elected by district conferences, and five-year KSC membership is required for those

elected to the regional committee. A regional presidium and secretariat conduct the work of the committee between its sessions, which are held every two months. The leading secretary of the regional committee must have been a party member for at least ten years.

In the Slovak Socialist Republic another layer of party structure exists, the Communist Party of Slovakia (Komunisticka Strana Slovenska—KSS). The KSC and the KSS emerged from World War II as separate parties but were united after the communist seizure of power in 1948. As a concession to Slovak nationalism, the KSS was permitted to retain a measure of its identity, although it was firmly tied into the national structure of the KSC. The party statutes describe the KSS as the "territorial organization of the KSC in Slovakia." It is interposed between the central organs of the KSC and the Slovak regional party organization and charged with implementing party policies in its territory.

Although the KSS exhibits the same structure as the KSC, its powers are clearly subordinate to those of the central party organs. The supreme Slovak party organ is the KSS congress, which meets once every five years and is convened on the call of the KSS Central Committee. Primary tasks of the congress include the approval of the KSS Central Committee report, discussion of the programs of the party within Slovak territory, the election of the KSS Central Committee, and the republic-level Central Control and Auditing Commission.

Before the Fourteenth Party Congress of the KSC, the Bureau for the Conduct of Party Work in the Czech Lands had been established in the Czech Socialist Republic as something of a counterpart of the Central Committee of the KSS. The KSC Party Statutes, as revised at the congress, make no reference to this bureau, and some observers have reported that its work was taken over directly by central party organs in the effort of the KSC leadership to recentralize control in Prague.

Membership

The Czechoslovak Communists emerged from World War II with an extensive network of action committees organized in towns, factories, and schools. By the time the KSC seized control of the government in February 1948, the party reported a total of 1.5 million members. Shortly thereafter, the KSC leaders launched a membership drive that boosted the size of the party to 2.5 million members just seven months later, making the KSC, at that time, the largest ruling communist party outside the Soviet Union. After 1948 there followed a period of reexamination of membership policy by KSC leaders and an attempt to screen candidates more thoroughly in order to maintain the ideological purity of the party.

Because of the imposition of more stringent membership requirements and the expulsion of those who failed to pass reexamination, KSC membership declined to approximately 1.5 million by mid-1954. Between 1954 and 1960 there was little fluctuation in the size of the party, but by 1967 the party listed 1.7 million members out of a total Czechoslovak population of about 14.3 million, reportedly the highest ratio of party membership to adult population to be found in any communist state.

The unsettled political situation during 1968 and 1969 was reflected in the party membership statistics. In 1968 over 18,000 persons reportedly left the KSC, 82 percent of these resigning after the August invasion. After the decision by the Presidium in early 1970 to purge the party ranks of reformist elements, the membership again declined sharply. Since January 1968 the party's numerical strength has dropped by 473,731, or 28 percent of its total. Of this decline, 326,817 persons lost their party cards during the 1970 membership purge. At the mid-1971 party congress Husak claimed a total of 1.2 million KSC members.

In 1971 party leaders expressed growing concern over the social and age composition of the party. Statistics indicated a steady decrease in the number of members who were economically active and an increase in the average party member's age. The proportion of active blue-collar workers had declined from 42.5 percent of the membership in 1952 to only 26.1 percent in January 1971. Recruitment of new workers into the ranks of the KSC did not keep pace with the number who had retired, died, or been expelled from the party. After the purge of the party membership during 1970, statistics indicated that the average age of members had increased from 47.4 years as of January 1970 to 49 years in January 1971, as there had been a significant decrease of members in the under-40 age group.

The continuing defection of youth from the party has become a major concern of party leaders. A 1969 report from the KSS indicated, for example, that in Bratislava only 439 out of a total of nearly 20,000 university students belonged to the party. Little information was available in mid-1971 on the number of women in the KSC, although the KSS reported in April 1969 that only 3 percent of its members were women.

Party Training

Membership in the KSC is contingent upon the completion of a satisfactory period as a candidate member. In addition to candidates for party membership, there are also candidates for all party leadership groups from the local levels to the KSC Presidium. These candidates, already party members, are considered as interns in training for the future assumption of particular leadership responsibilities. Those coming into KSC membership for the first

time are made candidate members for a period of one year, during which time they may not vote or be elected to party committees.

The indoctrination and training of party members is one of the basic responsibilities of the regional and district organizations, and most of the party training is conducted on these levels. The regional and district units work with the local party organizations in setting up training programs and in determining which members shall be enrolled in particular courses of study. On the whole, there has been relatively little change in the system of party schooling that was first established in 1949. In general, the district or city organization provides weekly classes in the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, the history of communism, socialist economics, and the current party position on domestic and international affairs.

Members in training for positions as party functionaries attend seminars in the Evening Schools of Marxism-Leninism set up in local areas or the more advanced Evening Universities of Marxism-Leninism, which have been established in the cities of Prague, Brno, Ostrava, and Bratislava. The highest party training, however, is found at the Advanced School of Politics of the Party Central Committee in Prague. Designed to train the top echelons of the party bureaucracy, the three-year curriculum of the advanced school has the official status of a university program. Beginning in 1958 it was also possible to obtain a doctorate in the field of Communist Science through the Central Committee's Institute of Social Sciences. In the 1960s the Institute for Advanced Training for Instructors of Marxism-Leninism was established at Charles University in Prague, with branches at the universities of Brno and Bratislava.

General ideological training of children and youth is carried out under the direction of the Central Committee's section for primary and secondary schools. The tasks assigned to this section include the influencing of political and ideological activity in the schools, the formation of teams of teachers to organize ideological courses, and the creation of a permanent system of planned political education and the study of Marxism-Leninism. This emphasis was part of a renewed drive by the party leadership to politicize education (see ch. 5, Cultural Development). Departments of Marxism-Leninism have also been established to supplement college curricula.

At the party congress of May 1971, Husak pointed out what he termed the special problems in the ideological orientation of many of the country's universities. These problems were particularly related to shortcomings in the political education of university students because, according to Husak, the universities and higher party schools had proven too susceptible to reformist thinking and revisionism. As a result, 100 of the 170 lecturers on Marxism-Leninism were dismissed from their posts, and half of the party ideological secretaries were

removed. A number of the institutes of political training were closed, and others were restructured.

Party Issues

Because the debates within the Presidium and the Central Committee are isolated from public scrutiny and decisions are always reported as unanimous, observers of Czechoslovak politics frequently find it difficult to detect with certainty the issues of internal conflict among the KSC's top leadership. Reports indicate, however, that the issues that surged to the forefront in 1967 and 1968 are not yet entirely dead. These issues, particularly the question of Slovakia and federalization, the condition of the economy, and pressures from the more extreme conservatives for punishment of the deposed reformers, continue to pose problems within the party.

A Yugoslav journalist expelled from Czechoslovakia in early 1971 reported conflict between two opposing groups in the top ranks of the party. One group, which could be described as centrist, was centered around Husak, whereas the other was composed of several of the hardline conservatives in the party leadership. This group repeatedly attacked Husak for not having carried the purge of reformists far enough. At the Fourteenth Party Congress, however, Husak continued to receive the support of the Soviet Union and was reelected to the party leadership. There was some evidence in mid-1971 that a counterpurge was being carried out on the local levels, with some of the extreme hardliners themselves removed from their posts.

Since the return to orthodox communism after the ouster of the Dubcek regime, the KSC leadership has gradually engineered a return to the centralized rule that was characteristic of the Novotny era. Originally conceived as a means of rectifying the inequalities between the Czech lands and Slovakia by permitting the decentralization of authority in certain matters to national organs, the federal system entered into force in January 1969. During 1969 and 1970, however, the party moved to circumscribe the powers that had devolved to the two constituent republics, and the federalization law was amended to restore a large part of this authority to federal organs.

The federal ministries were given greater authority in economic planning and investment; administration of state security was placed entirely under the control of the federal Ministry of the Interior; and the federal government was authorized to overrule the actions of the Czech and Slovak republics. Observers recalled that the Slovak question was one of the fundamental issues that led to the 1968 reform attempts and indicated that Slovak leaders could not be entirely happy to witness the dismantling of the limited measure of autonomy they had received.

Although the inflationary trend was halted in 1970, the economy continued to suffer in mid-1971 from the lack of a comprehensive and coordinated plan for reform. Since so much political sensitivity has surrounded the economic issue, individual party officials have been reluctant to speak about the problem. Husak underlined this problem of sensitivity in a speech in Ostrava in September 1970: "The lesson from the past years is such that there are some fundamental matters of principle, I would say sacred matters, about which there must be no doubt, which cannot be discussed, if we do not wish to fall into upheaval again." In the absence of debate on different approaches to the country's economic problems, the result has been a return to the centralized planning that had proved a failure during the 1960s (see ch. 10, Character and Structure of the Economy).

Other Political Parties and Mass Organizations

After the Communists took full control of the country in 1948, the noncommunist parties were reduced to a position of subservience to the KSC. Besides the KSS, which is a subunit of the KSC, there are four other political parties in Czechoslovakia: the Czechoslovak Socialist Party (Ceskoslovenska Strana Socialisticka—CSS); the Czechoslovak People's Party (Ceskoslovenska Strana Lidova—CSL); the Slovak Freedom Party (Slovenska Strana Svobody—SSS); and the Party of Slovak Reconstruction (Strana Slovenskej Obrody—SSO), known before 1948 as the Slovak Democratic Party. These parties are not to be considered as contenders for control of the government, however, as they function in large measure as auxiliaries of the KSC.

Each of these minor parties is organized similarly to the KSC with a party congress, central committee, and presidium. Although the noncommunist parties all demonstrate their allegiance to the KSC, they have traditionally differed from each other in their bases of social support. The CSS drew its members mostly from the former urban middle class and white-collar workers; the CSL was primarily Roman Catholic and agrarian oriented. Each party was allocated twenty seats in the National Assembly. The two Slovak parties, both very small, drew support from the peasant population and Roman Catholics.

The two more prominent minor parties, the CSL and the CSS, enjoyed a brief revival during 1968 when they were allowed to resume some degree of activity. Membership in the CSL, the only one of the minor parties for which reliably accurate statistics were available in mid-1971, increased dramatically from 21,000 members in March 1968 to 82,000 by the end of the year. The CSS, the size of which was placed at about 11,000 in 1967, reportedly had a 50-percent increase in membership during the same period.

Both parties revived their press activities, the CSL publishing the daily *Lidova Demokracie*, the weekly *Nase Rodina*, and the

semimonthly *Obrada* and the CSS publishing the daily newspaper *Svobodne Slovo* and two weeklies, *Zitrek* and *A'hoj*. Party leaders who had been closely identified with the KSC were forced out of office.

The resurgence of these two parties was cut short by the invasion of the Warsaw Pact forces. A year later, upon the insistence of the KSC, purges were initiated in both the CSL and CSS. The former leaders were reinstated, and a number of officials who had been installed during 1968 were expelled. *Zitrek* and *Obrada*, the most outspoken of the minor party publications, were closed down, and the editors of the other party organs were replaced. By July 1970 all of the reformist elements had been removed from the two parties.

A large number of so-called mass organizations function as auxiliary agencies of the KSC to organize and mobilize particular segments of Czechoslovak society. Each one bases its popular appeal on the genuine or alleged group interests that it ostensibly serves. From the standpoint of the state and the party, the mass organizations provide channels for the transmission of party policy to the general population.

Two of the more prominent mass organizations, the Czechoslovak Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and the Socialist Youth Union of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, were also subjected to leadership purges and extensive reorganization during 1970. The labor union organization, a composite of fifty-six labor unions organized in various occupational fields, carried out the purge of its leadership at the direction of the KSC Central Committee in order to rid its ranks of those "who are not in the right places due to their political profile."

In late 1970 the constituent conference of the Socialist Youth Union was held in Prague to establish a new unified youth organization in order to complete the process of normalization in the youth movement. The forerunner of the new organization, the Czechoslovak Youth Federation, fragmented into a number of independent, special interest youth organizations in 1968. The aim of the Socialist Youth Union is to set up a single mass organization for all young people over fifteen years of age with those under age fifteen organized into a branch known as the Pioneers. All of the existing youth organizations are to be absorbed into either the Socialist Youth Union or the Pioneers. Official figures indicated 443,000 members in the Socialist Youth Union and 500,000 in the Pioneers in February 1971, reportedly far short of the membership goals set by the KSC.

The minority political parties and the mass organizations are united under the leadership of the KSC in the National Front, which coordinates and supervises their activities (see ch. 6, Governmental System). During 1968 the reform elements of the KSC and the two leading minor parties attempted to revamp the National Front and

give its member organizations a genuine consultative voice in the political process. With the end of the reform period, however, the front was returned to its original task of serving as a transmission belt for KSC policy. In January 1971 Husak was named chairman of the National Front and combined the post with his leading position in the party. He indicated that the KSC would employ the front to develop broad popular support for regime policies.

POLITICAL VALUES AND ATTITUDES

The Regime and the People

The short-lived reform period of 1968 and the liberalized atmosphere that it generated fostered a renewal of grassroots political activity on a scale that few observers had thought possible. Many adult citizens still had memories of the pre-World War II government, which, despite its shortcomings, had given them the experience of the democratic process. The events of the spring of 1968—the product of a conscious struggle for increased individual freedoms—renewed for them the possibilities of a nontotalitarian political system.

Since 1948 the government had been in the hands of a ruling oligarchy whose primary instrument of control was the Communist Party. The KSC, which proclaimed itself as the only legitimate source of political power, assumed the right to control the entire political, economic, and cultural life of the country and dictated the acceptable ideological views. In such a situation, the development of independent political thought and values was thoroughly circumscribed. To all appearances, citizens, inhibited in their articulation of political ideas, either refrained entirely from expressions of political opinion or paid lipservice to official ideology. That a certain amount of clandestine or private interchange of ideas was carried on, however, became increasingly evident during the first half of the 1960s.

There had existed among much of the population a reservoir of good feeling toward the Soviet Union that had been carried over from World War II. This good will, however, quickly deteriorated in 1968 after the Soviet-led invasion and occupation of the country. Much of the resentment originally directed against the occupiers was later directed against the Husak regime after its installation in 1969 because of its full-scale capitulation to Soviet demands. Fully aware that it did not have popular support for its policies, the regime, faced with the necessity of proving itself to the Soviet leaders, turned to coercion, purges, and job control to consolidate its position.

Because the party controls both educational and professional opportunities, students as well as people already employed are aware that their attitudes and activities weigh heavily on the options

available to them. The party apparatus controls the placement of graduates in industry and government and also recommends approved persons for advancement. Persons who wish to remain in their positions or who seek advancement must prudently abstain from criticism of the system. Students, particularly, were supervised as to their attitudes toward the regime and, in 1970, the party began to require all students to successfully complete a six-week course that covered the events of 1968 through 1970 from the perspective of proper ideology.

Despite the proclamation by Husak at the Fourteenth Party Congress in 1971 that the purge of the party membership had ended and that the normalization demanded by the Soviet Union had been achieved, the regime remains uncertain as to the depth of its popular support. From the outset the Husak regime has been tolerated rather than supported, and among the public at large there is a lingering memory of the reform atmosphere of 1968 and a feeling that "socialism with a human face" could have worked had it been given a chance. There is also the realization on the part of the people, however, that the regime will not soon disappear and the feeling of a need to accommodate to the political realities of the situation.

As a result, a large part of the public has become apathetic and cynical toward both party and government. In the factories poor labor discipline presents continual problems to the party leaders, as enterprise managers report abnormally high rates of absenteeism and low morale. At the same time the alienation of the intellectuals from the regime is reportedly almost total. Visitors report a turning inward on the part of much of the population and a shunning of political involvement. The apathy is also demonstrated in the decline in party membership, the increase in the median age of KSC members, and the fact that the Socialist Youth Union had failed to even come close to meeting its membership goals.

Popular Attitudes

Information on the attitudes of the people on specific political issues was difficult to obtain in mid-1971 because of the restrictions on the Czechoslovak press and on foreign correspondents reporting on events inside the country as well as the reluctance of many citizens to voice their opinions on political issues. Czechoslovaks living outside the country, however, have reiterated that the reform movement had put down deep roots that cannot be easily destroyed and point out that, at the height of the reform period, support for change was found among all segments of the society.

A student of Czechoslovak political and social affairs, reporting on polls of citizens taken during 1968 and 1969, declared that very few Czechoslovaks believed there was any real danger of a

counterrevolution against the KSC during the Dubcek era, and they felt that this was simply one of the pretexts used for the invasion. The observer also reported that in June 1968 the overwhelming majority of those interviewed favored a continuation of the socialist system. Much the same sentiment was expressed six months after the invasion, with the great majority continuing to favor socialist development but in the context of increased personal freedom.

At the same time, those interviewed expressed the opinion that the direction of socialist development in Czechoslovakia was exclusively an internal matter and should not be dictated by communist leaders in the Soviet Union. Of those interviewed who were not KSC members, less than 40 percent felt the government was responsive to popular demands or was sufficiently broadly based, whereas slightly over 60 percent of the party members interviewed approved of the government's responsiveness.

The 1968 survey indicated that few citizens believed the KSC's propaganda that the elections conducted by the National Front were truly democratic. In order to provide fairer representation of popular demands, a large majority also favored the development of a variety of politically active groups to operate either within or outside the KSC. Most, however, were disposed to accept the continued leading role of the Communist Party, although they desired that it merit leadership through its program and through responsiveness to the needs of the people.

CHAPTER 8

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Throughout the period since the August 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia by Soviet-led forces of the Warsaw Pact nations, the major foreign policy objective of the Czechoslovak government has been the so-called normalization of its relations with the invading states to the satisfaction of the leaders of the Soviet Union. Normalization involved the elimination of activities and tendencies that the Soviets considered anticommunist and anti-Soviet. The postinvasion leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (Komunisticka Strana Ceskoslovenska—KSC) asserted that a principal task of the party was to establish a course in both domestic and foreign policy that would restore the confidence of the Warsaw Pact states and demonstrate to them that the party was in full control of the country. After its installation in April 1969 the conservative regime of KSC General Secretary Gustav Husak conspicuously realigned the country's position in international affairs with that of the Soviet Union.

In mid-1971 foreign policy continued to be formulated under the direct control of the KSC Presidium and administered through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Foreign economic relations were conducted through the Ministry of Foreign Trade. In foreign relations as in domestic affairs, the regime was required to take full account of Soviet policy positions. Czechoslovak leaders continued to view the Soviet Union as the guiding force of the international communist movement.

The direction and content of the country's foreign economic and cultural relations have been largely determined by political considerations. Although government officials have expressed the desire of increasing political, economic, and cultural relations with noncommunist countries, emphasis has been placed on the country's ideological ties to the communist states.

In mid-1971 Czechoslovakia maintained full diplomatic relations with nearly eighty governments. More than fifty of these maintained embassies in Prague. Trade and cultural relations were conducted on both official and unofficial levels, and the regime had made concerted efforts to increase its cultural exchanges with nonaligned nations, particularly those of Africa and the Middle East. The country was a member of the United Nations (UN) and a number of its specialized

agencies. It was also a member of the Warsaw Pact military alliance and the economic alliance of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON—see Glossary).

The continued Soviet domination of Czechoslovak foreign policy left the Husák regime with little room for maneuver or initiative. Because the outlines of foreign policy were established by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, policy options were largely confined to the maintenance of mutually beneficial relations with the country's Eastern European allies and the extension, within limits, of economic and cultural relations with developing nations.

DETERMINANTS OF FOREIGN POLICY

Historical Factors

Czechoslovakia came under communist control in February 1948 when the KSC seized power and systematically suppressed its political opponents. From the outset the regime solidly aligned itself with the international policies and goals of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Although the almost automatic Czechoslovak support of the Soviet position on international issues was considered by many outside observers to be more a matter of necessity than conviction, the KSC leaders showed no inclination to deviate from the policies set down in Moscow.

In the early postwar years even the noncommunist Czechoslovak leaders had felt it reasonable to develop an alliance with the Soviet Union as a measure of protection against any future revival of German militarism. Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk, son of the founder of the republic, saw the country's choice in the postwar era not as one between East and West but one between Germany and the Soviet Union. What ostensibly began as an alliance, however, was quickly transmuted into the subordination of Czechoslovakia to the dictates of the Soviet Union once the Communists had seized control of the government.

Soviet advisers were attached to many of the central government agencies, particularly to those dealing with matters of state security. Official policies imitated the Soviet model of socialism, and Soviet patterns were evidenced in all areas of economic and cultural activity. Czechoslovakia functioned as a model satellite and an ardent supporter of Soviet policy in international affairs. In particular, the Czechoslovak regime championed the Soviet leadership of world communism. In the Soviet-Yugoslav dispute, for example, no other communist state more vociferously denounced Yugoslavia's lack of conformity.

As time passed, however, it became evident to some Czechoslovak Communists that it had been easier for the KSC to follow Soviet commands when it was a revolutionary opposition party without the responsibility of governing the state. Once in power the KSC could not completely disregard the particular requirements of the state and inevitable conflicts arose in attempting to gear all phases of economic and political life to meet Soviet demands. Although the Czechoslovak leadership firmly supported the Soviet intervention in Hungary and its opposition to reform measures in Poland during the 1950s, beginning in the early 1960s the divergence of interests between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union became increasingly evident, and some elements within the KSC began to press for the development of a unique Czechoslovak path to socialism (see ch. 7, Political Dynamics and Values).

The pro-Soviet regime of Antonin Novotny remained firmly in control, however, and both domestic and foreign policies continued to mirror the Soviet-established pattern. Novotny repeatedly declared the unswerving allegiance of the KSC to the Soviet Union. In the early 1960s when the Chinese Communist regime, supported by Albania, posed a challenge to Soviet leadership of the international communist movement, the Czechoslovak leaders continued unconditionally to associate the KSC with Soviet policy. Underlining this position, a KSC ideologist wrote in 1961 that there existed only one center of the communist movement, and that center was the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Amidst the growing Sino-Soviet ideological conflict, the Soviet party leaders convened a conference of European communist parties at the Czech city of Karlovy Vary in April 1967. The meeting focused on the theme of unity and was designed to testify to the continued Soviet leadership of the communist world. Despite the intended design, the conference demonstrated a significant amount of diversity in European communism, diversity that was intensified in the succeeding months of 1967 and was increasing; evident in Czechoslovakia in particular. Soviet support for the Arabs in the Arab-Israeli War of June 1967 added to dissension in Czechoslovakia when many intellectuals refused to follow the lead of the KSC and openly sympathized with Israel. Coupled with growing discontent on domestic issues, dissent was widespread by the end of the year (see ch. 7, Political Dynamics and Values).

Political Factors

During the regime of Alexander Dubcek the country's foreign relations were critically reexamined, and reform elements in the KSC called for the development of a foreign policy based primarily on the internal needs and conditions of Czechoslovakia. The country's

steadily worsening position in world markets was of special concern, and the reformist leaders were particularly critical of relations with COMECON, the multilateral economic alliance between some of the countries of Eastern Europe, Mongolia, and the Soviet Union. Since past COMECON relations provided no basis for optimism, the reformers sought room for Czechoslovakia to develop its own foreign economic policies (see ch. 10, Character and Structure of the Economy).

At the same time, however, the reform spokesmen were careful to emphasize that Czechoslovakia's national interests did not contradict the interests of world socialism as a whole. While they stressed the need for flexibility in the policies of individual socialist states, they continued to declare their readiness to consider the joint needs and interests of all socialist countries in the formation of foreign policy. The reform advocates did not, however, accept the concept that relations between states, socialist or nonsocialist, were based upon any rigidly fixed pattern. Rather, they asserted that foreign policy must develop in accordance with both the long-term objectives of the socialist world and the internal requirements of the individual nation.

The drive to bring foreign policy more in line with Czechoslovak national interests was cut short by the Warsaw Pact invasion and the subsequent installation of a regime more amenable to Soviet control. Once again foreign policy was firmly aligned with that of the Soviet Union, and the KSC declared its full support of the Soviet party as the leading force in world communism. Although immediately after the invasion the government had issued an official statement declaring the Warsaw Pact action illegal and a violation of the UN Charter and declared, as well, that neither "the government nor any other constitutional body in this country ever agreed to the invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia," the pro-Soviet regime that was installed in 1969 dutifully voiced the theme that responsible Czechoslovak officials had requested the aid of the Warsaw Pact states in order to save Czechoslovak socialism. At the close of 1969 the Czechoslovak foreign minister described the invasion as a manifestation of international socialist solidarity.

In effect, these declarations aligned the KSC leadership firmly behind the Brezhnev Doctrine, which the Soviets had enunciated as a justification for the invasion. The doctrine asserts the right of military intervention by the combined forces of socialist states when a socialist country is threatened internally or externally, or when developments within any one socialist state are perceived to endanger the socialist commonwealth as a whole. In essence this doctrine limits the sovereignty of communist states and bases relations between them on a type of international law different from that regulating relations with noncommunist countries.

Related to the issue of the sovereignty of socialist states is the matter of the sovereignty of communist parties. The concept of many roads to socialism advocated by a number of the parties that were in ruling positions in their particular states proved to be unacceptable to the Soviet Union. Several of these parties were critical of the invasion of Czechoslovakia, and a number of nonruling communist parties in states such as France and Italy strongly condemned the Warsaw Pact action. Some parties were reluctant to deal with the regime of Gustav Husak, which had come to power with the aid of Soviet pressure. These issues served to underline the conflict between the foreign policy aims of the Soviet Union and those of individual communist states.

In their efforts to demonstrate to the Soviet Union that they were in full control of the country, the leaders of the KSC recentralized decisionmaking authority. Political factors became paramount in foreign economic and cultural relations. Government officials stressed the importance of sensitively examining trade relations with noncommunist countries in order to avoid possible abuse for political purposes. All foreign relations in the sphere of culture, education, and science were placed directly under the supervision of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In October 1969 the government acted to further restrict the travel of Czechoslovaks abroad and to severely limit the entry into the country of persons from all noncommunist states and Yugoslavia. An amnesty for postinvasion defectors had expired in September, and January 1, 1970, was decreed as the shutoff date for all legal stays abroad. It was decreed that after that date all Czechoslovak citizens living in the West would have to either return home or choose exile.

Travel was expressly forbidden to countries having no diplomatic relations with Czechoslovakia, including the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany), Spain and Portugal. Government authorities were empowered to withhold passports if they considered it in the interests of state security. Visits to relatives who were living abroad illegally were also ruled out. At the same time, entry visas for foreigners were made more difficult to obtain.

CONDUCT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Policy Formation

The 1968 Constitutional Law reserved to the federal government exclusive jurisdiction in matters of foreign policy, negotiation of international treaties, representation of the nation in international relations, and decisions concerning war and peace. The government, however, functions largely as the administrative agent for policies that

are determined in the higher echelons of the KSC, the primary policy decisions in matters of foreign relations, as well as in all domestic affairs, being made by the KSC Presidium. Whereas this body functions as the ultimate Czechoslovak authority, careful attention is given to directives and policy statements emanating from the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Within the structure of the KSC, foreign policy decisions are channeled through the Central Committee's Department of International Affairs that in turn transmits them to the proper government agencies and supervises their implementation. A member of the Central Committee usually serves as chief of the department. The government conducts foreign relations through its Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Foreign Trade. Since all effective decisionmaking power resides in the party Presidium, these agencies function primarily as administrative organs, although some policy suggestions may originate in the ministries and be submitted to party authorities for consideration (see ch. 6, Governmental System).

Committees on foreign relations exist in both chambers of the Federal Assembly. Although the decisions of the KSC Presidium frequently preclude any discussion of alternate policies, these committees are sometimes given specific assignments in policy analysis and serve as a channel whereby the regime submits foreign affairs legislation to the assembly. In addition to the party and government agencies in the field of foreign affairs, there also exists the Czechoslovak Institute for International Relations, an academically oriented institution providing both training and scholarship in support of official policies, as well as research and policy suggestions for those in decisionmaking positions.

In delineating the principles of foreign policy formation a leading party and government official, speaking in 1970, declared that "proletarian internationalism" must be the decisive criteria of all foreign policy activity. Although the policy of peaceful coexistence with states of different economic systems is asserted as a principle of foreign relations, the KSC has pledged to work for the extension of international socialism. The importance placed on the country's relations with the Soviet Union is repeatedly emphasized. Foreign Minister Jan Marko declared in 1970 that "only in close alliance with the USSR and the other socialist states is our state sovereignty, security, and inviolability insured."

Administration of Foreign Affairs

The functions and duties of the government ministries and certain other government agencies were revised by the Federal Assembly in December 1970 in its Law on Functions of Federal Ministries. The document describes the twofold task of each ministry as sharing in

the formulation of state policy and organizing its implementation within its particular area of jurisdiction. Domestic policies that ensue from the country's international agreements and membership in international organizations are assigned to the appropriate government agency.

Described by the Federal Assembly law as the central organ of state administration for the area of foreign relations, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is charged with the direction, coordination, and implementation of foreign policy and the protection of Czechoslovak national interests in international affairs. It also has a role as a coordinating agency for other federal and republic organs to provide them with knowledge of the government's foreign policies and ensure domestic cooperation with those policies.

The ministry has primary responsibility in the coordination and preparation of international agreements, the supervision of the nation's representation abroad, and the implementation of government directives in the areas of foreign educational, cultural, scientific, and health relations. Foreign economic relations are conducted through the Ministry of Foreign Trade, which the law on federal ministries describes as the central organ of state administration for the country's international trade and economic exchanges. Both the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Trade coordinate and conduct their programs in accordance with policies determined by the KSC (see ch. 10, Character and Structure of the Economy).

Although the Law on Functions of Federal Ministries altered and clarified some of the responsibilities of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the agency's general organization remained much as it had been established in 1960, and the same structure continued to exist in mid-1971. The ministry is organized into eight political sections, six functional and administrative sections, two administrative offices, and two departments. Each of the subdivisions is headed by a unit chief and deputy chief. The entire operation of the ministry functioned under the direction of the minister and first deputy minister of foreign affairs, three additional deputy ministers, the general secretary for administration, and the chief of the chancellery.

The eight political sections and their areas of responsibility are designated as follows: First Section—the Soviet Union, Poland, and the German Democratic Republic (East Germany); Second Section—other socialist countries except Cuba; Third Section—Asia; Fourth Section—West Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and West Berlin; Fifth Section—Scandinavia and other European states, including the United Kingdom; Sixth Section—Western Hemisphere, Cuba, Australia, and New Zealand; Seventh Section—Middle East; and Eighth Section—Africa.

Functional and administrative units include sections designated: consular, cultural propaganda, documentary archives, international economic organizations, legal, and press. The other subunits are the Office of Diplomatic Protocol; the Office of Administration of Services for the Diplomatic Corps; the Department of International Organizations; and the Department of Cultural, Educational, and Scientific Relations with Foreign Countries.

The Ministry of Foreign Trade functions under the direction of the minister, five deputy ministers, and seventeen section chiefs. Areas of responsibility for the ministry's subunits are designated as follows: Section One, long-range planning; Section Two, foreign relations; Section Three, internal relations; Section Four, executive plan; Section Five, economics; Section Six, the Soviet Union; Section Seven, COMECON countries except the Soviet Union; Section Eight, non-COMECON socialist countries; Section Nine, developed capitalist countries; Section Ten, developing countries; Section Eleven, international transportation; Section Twelve, cadres (personnel); Section Thirteen, control; Section Fourteen, minister's chancellery; Section Fifteen, administrative; Section Sixteen, special; and Section Seventeen, special. In addition, the ministry organization includes a scientific council, a technical directorate, and a press secretary (see ch. 10, Character and Structure of the Economy).

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

In 1971 Czechoslovakia reportedly maintained diplomatic relations with seventy-nine countries and the so-called Provisional Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. Of these, fifty-three governments maintained embassies in Prague, an additional fourteen conducted relations through their embassies in Moscow, two, through their embassies in Warsaw, Poland, and one, through its embassy in Oslo, Norway. Austria maintained relations at the legation level, and nine other states maintained diplomatic relations with Czechoslovakia but had not established permanent embassies or legations in the country as of mid-1971. The government conducted trade relations with a number of other states with which it had not established formal diplomatic ties (see ch. 10, Character and Structure of the Economy).

Relations with Communist States and Communist Parties

Since the 1968 invasion by the armed forces of five Warsaw Pact states, the major emphasis of Czechoslovak foreign policy has been the "normalization" of relations with those states. The process required the reassertion of strong party control over all phases of domestic life to the satisfaction of the Soviet party leaders and the

installation of KSC officers who were willing to look to Soviet leadership in political, economic, and cultural affairs.

Although the Warsaw Pact action received the subsequent approval of most communist states, some conditioned their approbation with a statement of support for the concept of national sovereignty and party autonomy, whereas others openly criticized the invasion. Support for the action came from Cuba, Mongolia, North Korea, and North Vietnam, whereas the People's Republic of China (PRC), Albania, Romania, and Yugoslavia condemned the intervention. Protests also were registered by a number of nonruling communist parties, particularly strong anti-invasion stands being taken by the Australian, British, Dutch, French, Icelandic, Italian, and Spanish parties. Other communist parties that condemned or criticized the invasion included those of Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Japan, Mexico, Morocco, Norway, San Marino, and Switzerland.

On the whole, these parties have maintained their opposition to the invasion, although they have done so with varying degrees of firmness. Only the Communist Party of Austria officially reversed its original condemnation, a move that resulted in a split in its ranks. A number of the parties that were critical of the invasion have also been critical of the subsequent normalization process engineered by the Husak regime. The British Communist Party, for example, refused to attend the Fourteenth Party Congress of the KSC, held in May 1971, because their delegate was refused permission to make a statement to the effect that their critical view of the intervention and the removal of Dubcek had not changed.

The Soviet Union

Throughout most of the period since the Communists came to power in 1948, the Soviet Union has been able to look upon Czechoslovakia as a model ally that readily followed the Soviet pattern in domestic matters and was firmly aligned with the international policies of the Soviet Communist party. The Czechoslovak leadership was among the first to approve the 1956 Soviet intervention in Hungary, and the KSC consistently supported the Soviet party's stand against Yugoslavia. Czechoslovakia also stood solidly with the Soviet Union in its ideological dispute with the PRC and Albania. When Soviet leaders began to enunciate the so-called doctrine of peaceful coexistence, the KSC declared that it continued to look to the Soviet party as the center and leading force of world communism.

In the period since the invasion, although the relationship between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union was designed to appear as relations between two equal and autonomous states, the Husak regime has returned the country to a position of subservience to Soviet

policies. The importance that the regime attached to its relations with the Soviet Union, to which it owes its continued existence, was evidenced in frequent expressions of gratitude for the Soviet-led "rescue and protection" of Czechoslovak socialism.

In its drive to reestablish the unity of international communism and maintain its own position of leadership of the world communist movement, the Soviet leadership began in 1966 to call for a communist summit meeting. Since the last major world communist conference, held in Moscow in 1960, serious divisions resulting from national and ideological deviations had appeared in the movement. These differences were fueled by the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Under the guidance of the Soviet party a number of preparatory meetings were held, and November 25, 1968, was the date selected for the convening of a conference. The dissension that followed in the wake of the invasion, however, caused the Soviets to postpone the meeting. It was finally convened in June 1969. After its installation in April 1969, the Husák regime quickly moved to support the Soviet proposal for a summit conference, and Husák headed the Czechoslovak delegation.

Although seventy-five communist parties were represented at the conference (eighty-one had participated in the 1960 meeting), the five ruling parties that boycotted the conference—China, North Korea, North Vietnam, Yugoslavia, and Albania—represented 21.5 million of the world's 45.9 million communist party members.

Although the Soviet leaders attempted to minimize the issue of Czechoslovakia and the KSC itself had gone on record requesting that the matter not be raised at the conference, ten of the parties represented explicitly criticized the invasion whereas four spoke in defense of the Warsaw Pact action. The other sixty delegates refrained from any comment on the issue. Husák, speaking in his position as head of the KSC, supported the Soviet Union and criticized those parties who "with a very superficial knowledge of Czechoslovak affairs had drawn hasty conclusions which were at variance with the best interests of Czechoslovakia and the world socialist movement."

The KSC adhered to the international policies contained in the main document of the conference, a 15,000-word statement entitled, "Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-imperialist Forces." Policy statements in the document included a call for united action in support of communist forces in Vietnam, the aiding of "oppressed peoples" in their struggles of national liberation, the prevention of the spread of nuclear weapons and the enforcement of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, condemnation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and the call for a European security conference designed to secure the inviolability of Europe's existing frontiers. Support was also given to East Germany in its struggle with

West Germany over the status of Berlin and the latter's refusal to recognize the existence of two German states, as well as to the Arab states in their conflict with Israel.

After the conclusion of the conference the Husak regime continued to identify Czechoslovakia with Soviet positions on major world problems and to bring domestic affairs firmly in line with these policies. In September 1969 the KSC hierarchy nullified the party Presidium's declaration of August 21, 1968, condemning the invasion as aggression and a breach of international law. In annulling the declaration the Central Committee described it as "nonclass, non-Marxist, and fundamentally incorrect."

Observers of Eastern European politics reported a rapidly progressing Sovietization of Czechoslovak life during 1970 and indicated that the Soviet presence was discernible everywhere. All political and cultural events of any importance were marked by the attendance of Soviet representatives or guests. A number of economic agreements closely bound the Czechoslovak economy to that of the Soviet Union. On the occasion of the twenty-sixth anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet army, a special memorial was unveiled in Milovice, the headquarters of the Soviet occupation forces, and President Ludvik Svoboda delivered the main address in the Russian language.

Husak again headed the Czechoslovak delegation that attended the Twenty-fourth Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, convened in Moscow on March 30, 1971. At the congress, Soviet party chief Leonid Brezhnev reiterated the invitation thesis stating that the "decision to render internationalist assistance to Czechoslovakia in defense of socialism" was taken after receiving appeals for help from "party and state leaders, Communists, and working people of Czechoslovakia." Speaking at the session held on April 1, Husak expressed the gratitude of the Czechoslovak people for the Soviet response to the alleged appeal for aid, declaring that "this internationalist assistance saved our country from civil war and counterrevolution."

The presence of Brezhnev and the participation of delegations from other Warsaw Pact states at the Fourteenth Party Congress of the KSC, held in May 1971, was considered to be an acknowledgment of Soviet confidence in the KSC leadership and of the general course of developments in Czechoslovakia. At the congress Husak announced the completion of the normalization process and the full rehabilitation of the KSC and Czechoslovakia in the eyes of its Warsaw Pact allies.

Other Communist States

To a large extent, relations with the other communist states of Eastern Europe derived from the country's relations with the Soviet Union. As the Husak regime demonstrated firm control of domestic

life to the satisfaction of the Soviet leaders, the so-called normalization of relations with the other invading states followed. In speaking of the emphasis the government placed on the normalization of relations with the five invading states, the Czechoslovak foreign minister acknowledged that "the atmosphere of friendly and comradely relations with the allies was most disturbed for a long period." After the completion of the normalization process, however, the minister assured the Warsaw Pact allies that Czechoslovakia would demonstrate maximum efforts to join with them in the development of fraternal socialist relations and the ensuring of European security.

Although Czechoslovakia and East Germany had entered into the twenty-year Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance in March 1967, the East German leaders became the most vociferous critics of the reform programs instituted under the Dubcek regime in 1968. Walter Ulbricht, who was at that time chief of the East German communist party and head of government, feared the development of Czechoslovak ties with West Germany and apparently became an important influence in the Soviet decision to invade Czechoslovakia. Many Western observers considered the presence of East German troops on Czechoslovak territory a violation of the Potsdam agreement.

After the invasion and the reinstallation of conservative leaders in the KSC, relations between the two states were gradually normalized. Czechoslovak policy statements on the German question coincided with those of the Soviet Union, and "international legal recognition of the socialist German state" was designated as a precondition of improved East-West relations.

Relations with Romania, Albania, and Yugoslavia, however, were set apart from those with the other Eastern European communist states. Although a member of the Warsaw Pact, Romania had refused to allow its troops to participate in the invasion of Czechoslovakia, and Romanian leaders were outspoken in their criticism of the Warsaw Pact action. On the day after the invasion, Romanian party chief Nicolae Ceausescu declared that "military intervention in the affairs of a fraternal socialist country could not be justified" and that "the Romanian people would not allow anybody to violate our country's territory."

The Romanian attitude toward the invasion and its criticism of the enforced normalization carried out by the Husak regime strained relations between the two socialist states. During 1970, however, cooperation between them gradually increased and, noting that Romania is a member of both the Warsaw Pact and COMECON, Czechoslovak officials declared their government's readiness to strengthen relations with Romania, "although it maintains a different attitude on certain specific questions."

Yugoslav President Josip Tito had supported and encouraged the Dubcek regime and was a strong critic of the invasion. He branded the action as a violation of the independence of a sovereign state "which is completely at odds with the generally accepted principles of international law and the United Nations Charter." The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia issued a resolution demanding the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Czechoslovakia, and the Yugoslav government, fearful of its own territorial integrity, began a partial mobilization of its army. Tito expressly rejected the Brezhnev Doctrine. Anti-Yugoslav propaganda in the states participating in the invasion blamed Yugoslav revisionism for being at the root of the difficulties that made the action in Czechoslovakia necessary.

Spokesmen for the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in stating their government's policy toward Yugoslavia, asserted in late 1969 that while "certain incorrect attitudes taken by Yugoslavia toward the events in Czechoslovakia" could not be overlooked, "we are striving to inform the Yugoslavs objectively of developments in Czechoslovakia and we want to inform our public about Yugoslavia in the same way." Since early 1970 both governments have attempted to minimize their differences and emphasize the positive aspects of their mutual relations.

Relations with Albania largely reflected Soviet-Albanian relations and had, since 1960, evidenced substantial mutual hostility. When Albania sided with the PRC in the Sino-Soviet dispute, Czechoslovakia supported the Soviet position and condemned the Albanian attitude. Although diplomatic relations between Albania and the Soviet Union were broken in 1961 the Albanians continued relations with Czechoslovakia but reduced its representation to the chargé d'affaires level after Czechoslovakia and the other communist states of Eastern Europe halted their aid programs and withdrew advisers. In protest against the invasion of Czechoslovakia the Albanian government withdrew from the Warsaw Pact. The gesture was largely symbolic, however, as its membership in the organization had been inactive since 1961.

Czechoslovakia stood firmly with the Soviet Union in its conflict with Communist China, and the Czechoslovak leaders made no apparent attempt to use the China dispute as a lever to gain advantages from the Soviet Union. Beginning at the Twelfth Party Congress of the KSC in 1962, the Chinese attitudes were repeatedly condemned. The Chinese replied with attacks on KSC policies and charged Czechoslovak leaders with "preferring a life on their knees, a life in a kennel." The KSC leaders responded with charges of Chinese "dogmatism and sectarianism" and declared their complete support for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as the leading force of the international communist movement.

The Peking regime took the opportunity of the invasion of Czechoslovakia to renew its dispute with the Soviet Union. Although the Chinese leaders withheld support for the Czechoslovaks or their political program, they compared the Warsaw Pact action to Adolf Hitler's invasion of the country at the outbreak of World War II. In early 1970, however, the Husak regime began to develop a more conciliatory attitude toward the PRC and to seek a gradual normalization of relations. A foreign ministry spokesman stated that "in our position toward the Mao Tse-tung group's policy, we never renounced our readiness to overcome discrepancies and regulate our relations with the Chinese People's Republic." He asserted that Czechoslovakia would not only strive to maintain its present limited collaboration with the Peking government but would also favor some expansion. Throughout the period of the dispute the Chinese government continued diplomatic relations with Czechoslovakia and, in 1971, was represented in Prague by a chargé d'affaires.

Relations With Noncommunist States

Western Nations

In mid-1971 relationships with Western nations continued to reflect the Soviet position on the major problems of East-West relations. During the 1960 through 1968 period the growing détente between the two superpowers and the relative relaxation of Soviet control over Eastern Europe permitted an increase in Czechoslovak relations with the West, particularly in the areas of cultural exchanges and trade. Although the invasion of Czechoslovakia provoked indignation in the West, the Husak regime has cautiously sought to continue the development of diplomatic, trade, and cultural relations with Western states.

Czechoslovakia is the only state bordering both East and West Germany and, during the immediate preinvasion period, the country's owing relationship with West Germany became a subject of strong criticism by several of the Warsaw Pact states. Political observers reported that the fear of increased West German influence was a major factor in the Soviet decision to occupy Czechoslovakia and bring about a change of KSC leadership. Although the Dubcek regime had precluded the establishment of political relations with West Germany, there was substantial Czechoslovak interest in ameliorating relations and increasing trade between the two states. Trade missions were exchanged in early 1968, and some observers reported that Czechoslovakia had initiated preliminary negotiations to obtain West German financial aid.

After the invasion and the subsequent installation of the Husak regime, Czechoslovak policy toward West Germany was restrained and cautious, primary consideration being given to issues of East-

West politics. Spokesmen for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs again cited the danger of West German "militarism, desire for expansion, concrete aid to neo-Nazism and its policy of refusing to acknowledge postwar reality in Europe." Despite the polemics, West Germany continued to be Czechoslovakia's largest noncommunist trading partner (see ch. 10, Character and Structure of the Economy). In early 1971 the two governments entered into a series of negotiations aimed at improving relations.

Czechoslovak-United States relations have been marked by many difficulties since the Communists seized control of the country in 1948. A longstanding issue that has adversely affected relations between the two states has been the question of compensation by the Czechoslovak government for nationalized private property of American citizens and the related withholding of United States approval for the return of Czechoslovak gold taken from the country during the Nazi occupation and held throughout the postwar period by the Tripartite Gold Control mission composed of the United Kingdom, France, and the United States. After the invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia by Soviet-led forces, the United States brought the matter to the attention of the UN Security Council as a violation of the UN Charter and called for the withdrawal of the occupying troops.

In mid-1971 Czechoslovakia and the United States continued to maintain formal diplomatic ties on the ambassadorial level. Although no formal agreement existed, cultural and educational exchanges had been on the increase until the 1968 invasion. Some cultural contacts were resumed in 1969; however, the new travel restrictions and other controls the Czechoslovak government applied to visitors from Western nations beginning in early 1970 served to curtail these exchanges.

In general, relations with Western nations have advanced furthest in the field of cultural relations. Between 1960 and August 1968 a number of agreements providing for cultural, scientific, and educational exchanges were concluded with Western governments. In the same period there was a significant increase in translation of Western literature. After the installation of the Husak regime, cultural exchanges with the West were approached with caution and suspicion. Although the Czechoslovak leaders continued to voice a desire for an increase in cultural contacts, the number of such exchanges was sharply decreased. Government officials emphasized desire to expand trade relations with Western nations but stated that such relations must be "strictly on a basis of mutual advantages" (see ch. 10, Character and Structure of the Economy).

Nonaligned States

Relations with nonaligned states are officially based on what spokesmen for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs describe as the country's "socialist foundation." Such foreign policy includes efforts to extend the socialist system to developing nations and involves a commitment for a "continuing determination to assist the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America in their struggle against colonialism and for economic emancipation."

Political relations and technical cooperation with nonaligned states are closely coordinated with those of the Soviet Union. The government has placed heavy emphasis on the extension of cultural and scientific exchanges with developing nations as a means of both gaining influence for Czechoslovakia and promoting the benefits of the socialist system.

On important political questions involving nations of the so-called third world, there is no evident divergence between the Czechoslovak stance and the position of the Soviet Union. The communist Provisional Government of the Republic of South Vietnam (Viet Cong) is officially recognized by Czechoslovakia as the legitimate government of South Vietnam and maintains an embassy in Prague. The Husak regime has also adopted the Soviet line in regard to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Although a great deal of pro-Israeli sentiment had been expressed by Czechoslovak writers and journalists during the brief Dubcek era, the foreign minister, speaking in late 1969, described the government's policy in the Middle East as wholehearted support for the Arab countries. He condemned Israel as the aggressor and pledged effective Czechoslovak support for the Arab cause.

MEMBERSHIP IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

One of the fifty-one original signatories of the UN charter, as of mid-1971 Czechoslovakia also held membership in the following UN specialized agencies: International Labor Organization (ILO), International Telecommunications Union (ITU), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Universal Postal Union (UPU), World Health Organization (WHO), World Meteorological Organization (WMO), Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). It also participates in the work of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and is a member of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

The two most important communist organizations to which the country belongs are the Soviet-dominated Warsaw Pact and COMECON. Czechoslovakia has been a member of the Warsaw Pact

since its creation by the Soviet Union in May 1955. As an instrument of Soviet foreign policy, the Warsaw Pact has served to maintain the Soviet Union as the supreme arbiter of Eastern European affairs and to provide the legal basis for the presence of Soviet troops on the territory of some of the participating states. In 1971 political observers considered the Warsaw Pact as one of the few remaining devices available to the Soviet Union to maintain its hegemony over Eastern Europe.

COMECON was organized by the Soviet Union in 1949 as the Eastern European counterpart to the Marshall Plan. The original intent of the COMECON program was a division of labor among the member countries under the guidance of Soviet planners. Czechoslovakia and Hungary were to be assigned industrial roles, whereas Romania and Bulgaria were to concentrate on agricultural development. Poland was to be responsible for a combination of industrial and agricultural production.

Along with other member states, Czechoslovakia had opposed the complete division of labor proposed by the Soviet planners and was unwilling to specialize to the point where it might upset the national economy. As a result, COMECON was retarded in its development and did not establish a permanent secretariat until 1957. As a comprehensive scheme for economic integration among its members, COMECON has consistently fallen short of its goals. During the Dubcek era of 1968, Czechoslovak economists expressed disappointment at the lack of results from the country's participation in COMECON and urged looking elsewhere for trade and economic assistance.

CHAPTER 9

PUBLIC INFORMATION

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (Komunisticka Strana Ceskoslovenska—KSC) and the government continued, in 1971, to exert direct and effective control over the press, book publishers, radio, television, and motion pictures. The control system was highly centralized, extending from the top level down through the various echelons of the party, as well as through many agencies of the government structure. Party members, by occupying key positions throughout the system, were able to oversee the carrying out of approved policies in all of the communications media.

Radio broadcasting, telecasting, and motion picture production were state monopolies. Newspapers, periodicals, and books were published by the KSC and its subsidiary parties, government agencies, and various approved public organizations. Private ownership of information media was not permitted. Additionally, efforts were made by government regulation to restrict or limit the population's access to uncontrolled sources of information in order to increase the general dependence on official news presentations.

Czechoslovakia, which had become known for the democratic traditions developed during its two decades of independence, lost its basic freedoms under the 1939-45 Nazi occupation. Censorship and rigid control of all information media were imposed by the occupiers. With the defeat of the Nazis and the reinstatement of the democratic government of President Edward Benes, the country once again enjoyed freedom of information. The freedom was short lived, however, because the communist takeover of 1948 brought with it the reimposition of censorship and controls.

A short respite from information controls occurred in 1968 under the reform programs instituted during the regime of Alexander Dubcek (see ch. 7, Political Dynamics and Values). Although his regime attempted to liberalize communist party influence over all segments of national life, the attempted reform measures were impeded by Soviet military intervention in August of the same year. Full party authority over the communications media was restored under the new leadership installed in April 1969.

Mass communications media under the Communists have had the function of organizing and educating the people for the realization of the regime's political and economic goals. Extensive use has been

made of social, educational, recreational, and cultural organizations to indoctrinate the people and thereby increase popular support for the government and its objectives. The controlled information system was aided to a considerable extent by the totalitarian conditions under which the population lived. Little opportunity or time was offered for opposing ideas, and those that existed could be expressed only indirectly or by inference.

GOVERNMENT AND FREEDOM OF INFORMATION

The Constitution of 1920 was broadly democratic in principle and guaranteed all fundamental rights and liberties, including the freedoms of speech and of the press. Basic to the safeguard of the freedom of information was the general stipulation that specifically excluded any type of preliminary censorship. Throughout the twenty years of its existence, the government of the new republic acted to preserve these basic rights in practice as well as in theory.

The 1948 Constitution, which came into force after the Communists seized control of the government, altered the rights of citizens to individual freedoms. Under this document freedom of speech continued to be recognized, but its exercise could be "restricted by law in the public interest." The guarantee of freedom of the press was also retained and "as a rule" the press was to be permitted to function without preliminary censorship. Since the communist regime was the ultimate authority in invoking any qualifications, effective control of these basic rights was actually vested in the KSC, which controlled the government apparatus (see ch. 6. Governmental System).

Outright control of other mass media was also given to the state by the constitution, which stated that "the right to produce, distribute, publicly exhibit, as well as to import and export motion pictures shall be reserved to the state." The constitution further stated that broadcasting "shall be the exclusive right of the state." No constitutional guarantees whatever were provided in the general publishing field. All nonperiodical publications, particularly books, musical scores, and works of art, were regulated by federal law.

The 1960 Constitution, still basically in force in 1971, reaffirmed the state monopoly of all mass communication facilities and continued the restrictions on the rights of citizens to individual freedoms. The freedom of expression in all fields of public life, including the freedoms of speech and of the press, was again conditionally guaranteed in that it was permitted only when "consistent with the interests of the working people." Article Four of this document left little doubt as to which body was competent to judge the consistency of public expression with the public interest.

That article declared the communist party to be the "guiding force" both in society at large and within the state administration—giving it power without limitation or qualification.

Constitutional guarantees notwithstanding, censorship became a fact of life under the Stalinist-like regime imposed by the Czechoslovak Communists. In the mid-1960s the desires of Czechoslovak intellectual leaders and writers for a greater freedom of expression were stimulated by reforms that had been approved for early adoption in economic and other fields. The demands from journalists who were critical of the regime's rigid policy governing the communications media reached a peak in 1967 at the Fourth Congress of the Czechoslovak Writers' Union, when a resolution was passed that called for the ending of all prepublication censorship.

The strong pressures for overall changes in the system brought Dubcek to power within the Communist Party early in 1968. The continued opposition of news publishers and editors to the existing press control measures rendered the system of censorship unworkable and finally resulted in the party's abolition of ideological management of the press and the lifting of many restrictions on the sale of foreign literature within the country. This action was followed shortly by the official repeal of censorship by the National Council in July 1968.

The freedom enjoyed by journalists and literary writers, however, was short lived. In August Soviet and other Warsaw Pact forces invaded the country, and the previous rigid pattern of party control was reestablished. By mid-September restrictions on freedom of expression had been reinstated, and the new government Press and Information Office had been created to regulate all elements of the communications media. This action was quickly followed by the restoration of official censorship by the National Assembly and the reimposition of the ban against the distribution of foreign books and periodicals.

By mid-1971 the communist regime, through the systematic purging of editors and writers and the suspending and banning of newspapers and periodicals, had firmly suppressed all previous liberal tendencies in the information and publishing fields. In June, after the conclusion of the Fourteenth Party Congress, the regime announced that all elements of the information media were again "playing their proper role by serving as vital instruments in winning the people to active support of the party's policy."

The system of censorship reimposed after the Soviet invasion followed very closely that which had existed before 1968. In keeping with the importance attached to the need of molding public opinion to serve the objectives of the regime, control over all means of communication was administered at the highest party levels. Policy guidelines and directives were formulated and approved by top party officials and then disseminated to lower echelons, government

agencies, and mass organizations for implementation (see ch. 7, Political Dynamics and Values).

The KSC Central Committee and its supporting ideological and press staff were responsible for the final preparation of doctrinal policy in the form of plans and directives that were to be sent to subordinate users. Detailed instructions were developed from these broad directives after coordination with appropriate agencies, such as the federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the republic ministries of culture and education. These detailed instructions, in turn, were utilized by the committees and offices at the lowest echelons of party and government that dealt with the press, radio, and television for the preparation of propaganda material to be used by these facilities.

On particularly important subjects, the regime's views were often expanded or emphasized in special articles or editorials that appeared in the party's newspapers and periodicals. To augment this system the official government press agency began publication, in January 1971, of a semiweekly bulletin containing analyses, facts, and arguments needed by agitators, propagandists, and news outlets for the "proper" interpretation of international affairs, foreign developments, and domestic issues. Emphasis was on friendship with the Soviet Union and the need for "socialist solidarity."

In addition to the use of indirect channels for the dissemination of party policy and guidance, regular briefing sessions and meetings with chief editors were conducted by leading functionaries of the party and government. Since the chief editors were held responsible for the contents of newspapers and magazines, as well as radio and television broadcasts, these meetings served the important function of providing effective followup control over the information media and greatly diminished the need for prepublication censorship.

THE PRESS

Newspapers

In mid-1971 some 27 daily newspapers with a combined circulation of more than 4 million copies were being published throughout the country. Also, about 75 nondaily newspapers, with a total circulation exceeding 750,000 copies, appeared three times a week or less in the larger cities or towns. Additionally, approximately 400 enterprise newspapers were distributed to workers in the larger factories, plants, and shops. The government Press and Information Office was the licensing authority for all newspapers, and it also exercised a large measure of influence over all publications by virtue of its responsibility for the allocation of newsprint and other supplies and materials.

In Czechoslovakia, as in other communist states, the right to publish newspapers and journals was restricted to recognized political parties, government-sponsored activities, and public organizations. In keeping with this principle, several ministries of the government, labor unions, mass organizations, and the KSC—together with its affiliated political parties—published the most important newspapers in the Czech and Slovak capitals and other large regional cities (see table 4). Newspapers were noticeably stereotyped in both form and content and tended to dwell upon prescribed themes with little variation in depth of coverage or extent of comment.

Of the twenty-seven daily newspapers, nine were published in Prague, and eight, in Bratislava; these cities had the largest combined circulation. The remaining ten were published in outlying areas and were circulated principally in the regional capitals and large towns. Seventeen of the dailies were printed in Czech; nine were in Slovak; and one was in Hungarian—a language distribution that broadly represented the ethnic composition of the population. Variations in size were not great, the average being four to six pages. Those published by the communist party, however, were slightly larger, and customarily ran from six to eight pages in length.

The most authoritative, highly regarded, and widely read newspapers were those published in Prague and Bratislava, headed respectively by *Rude Pravo*, founded in 1920 as the official organ of the KSC, and *Pravda*. *Rude Pravo* appeared seven days a week in two editions—one in Prague and one in Bratislava for distribution in Slovakia. The newspaper was national in outlook and scope, and much of its presentation and layout was copied in some manner by most other newspapers. Its subscription list was large and, in addition, it enjoyed a sizable newsstand sale. Almost all mass organizations and public bulletin boards displayed copies for general reading purposes.

Although its circulation was limited to Slovakia, *Pravda* was also considered authoritative and an important outlet for official views and attitudes. It, too, was a large-format, seven-column newspaper, but it ran usually to six pages rather than eight as did *Rude Pravo*. In makeup the two dailies were very similar, and their overall content and news treatment varied little except in the proportion of Czech and Slovak news items presented in each newspaper.

Although some variation occurred in news arrangement, page layout, and length of features, the daily newspapers presented a high degree of uniformity in overall format. The front pages were frequently given over to international and national news and to commentary. The middle pages were devoted to local news items, to human interest stories with pictures, and to articles that featured economic developments as well as to noteworthy accomplishments in technology and science. The bulk of the other features, including

Table 4. Principal Czechoslovak Daily Newspapers, 1971

Publication	Language	Circulation	Place	Publisher
<i>Ceskoslovensky Sport</i>	Czech.....	200,000	Prague.....	Czechoslovak Physical Culture Association
<i>Hlas L'udu</i>	Slovak.....	5,000	Bratislava.....	Communist Party of Slovakia
<i>Jihoeská Pravda</i>	Czech.....	...	Ceske Budejovice	Communist Party of Czechoslovakia
<i>Lidova Demokracie</i>	do.....	122,000	Prague.....	Czechoslovak People's Party
<i>Lud</i>	Slovak.....	40,000	Bratislava.....	Party of Slovak Reconstruction
<i>Mladá Fronta</i>	Czech.....	295,000	Prague.....	Czechoslovak Youth Federation
<i>Moravský Večerník</i>	do.....	...	Brno.....	Communist Party of Czechoslovakia
<i>Nova Svoboda</i>	do.....	70,000	Ostrava.....	Do.
<i>Ostravský Včerník</i>	do.....	...	do.....	Do.
<i>Pochodien</i>	do.....	...	Hradec Králové.....	Do.
<i>Práca</i>	Slovak.....	117,000	Bratislava.....	Slovak Council of Trade Unions
<i>Prace</i>	Czech.....	290,000	Prague.....	Revolutionary Trade Union Movement
<i>Práda</i>	Slovak.....	295,000	Bratislava.....	Communist Party of Slovakia
<i>Prária</i>	Czech.....	65,000	Pízen.....	Communist Party of Czechoslovakia
<i>Pruboj</i>	do.....	81,000	Usti Nad Labem.....	Do.
<i>Rolnické Noviny</i>	Slovak.....	50,000	Bratislava.....	Slovak Ministry of Agriculture and Food
<i>Rovnost</i>	Czech.....	130,000	Brno.....	Communist Party of Czechoslovakia
<i>Rude Pravo</i>	do.....	1,130,000	Prague.....	To.
<i>Smena</i>	Slovak.....	165,000	Bratislava.....	Slovak Youth Federation
<i>Smer</i>	do.....	...	Banská Bystrica.....	Communist Party of Slovakia
<i>Správa</i>	Czech.....	...	Prague.....	Communist Party of Czechoslovakia
<i>Svobodné Slovo</i>	do.....	134,000	do.....	Czechoslovak Socialist Party
<i>Týž Szo</i>	Hungarian.....	295,000	Bratislava.....	Communist Party of Slovakia
<i>Vечерни Praha</i>	Czech.....	85,000	Prague.....	Communist Party of Czechoslovakia
<i>Večerník</i>	Slovak.....	65,000	Bratislava.....	Communist Party of Slovakia
<i>Východoslovenské Noviny</i>	Slovak.....	100,000	Prague.....	Do.
<i>Zemedeľské Noviny</i>	Czech.....	...	...	Czech Ministry of Agriculture and Food

... Circulation unknown.

puzzles, cartoons, radio and television schedules, obituaries, and advertisements by federal enterprises and institutions, were placed in the back one-third of the paper.

Although the newspapers published in the outlying towns and cities generally followed *Rude Pravo* in their layout and general content, they differed in the quality and range of their news-coverage, although they were usually sponsored by the same mass organizations that published the larger dailies. Regional developments were highlighted, but general news was also presented, frequently in the form of extracts, summaries, or short digests of stories originated by the national dailies. In many cases the larger regional newspapers also printed slightly changed editions for distribution to the surrounding local areas.

Periodicals

During the 1960s the number of periodicals published throughout the country increased steadily and in 1969 reached a total of 1,589. Although official reports indicated 1,875,175 copies of these magazines and journals were produced, no statistics were revealed concerning the number of issues distributed per year or the extent of circulation of various types or categories. Periodicals included not only those issued weekly, monthly, quarterly, and at other intermittent times, but also the many bulletins, notices, and pamphlets issued on a recurring basis by public organizations and industrial enterprises. All periodic publications were considered official organs of the issuing agencies and were subject to the same centralized control and supervision as that accorded newspapers.

Very few periodicals enjoyed a nationwide reputation, and those that did served a specialized reading audience, usually in a particular field. Since the Soviet invasion of 1968 many of these publications have been suspended or banned; others have undergone name changes; and a few have been replaced altogether or merged with new periodicals. This purge of publications included, in several cases, periodicals whose longstanding reputations had won them recognition outside the country.

Most periodicals were sold through subscription at rates lower than those charged at newsstands. Among those with large subscriber lists were three magazines associated with the KSC; of these, two were issued weekly, and one appeared every other week. The first weekly, *Tvorba*, dealt principally with domestic political and cultural affairs, whereas the second, *Tribuna*, presented official solutions to party problems and analyzed foreign developments from the communist ideological point of view. The fortnightly *Nova Mysl* limited itself largely to theoretical matters and ideological discussions. The

principal readers of these publications were party members and public officials at all levels of government.

Other periodicals that enjoyed relatively high degrees of popularity and large readerships included: *Vlasta*, an illustrated weekly, published for women by the Union of Czechoslovak Women; *Kvety*, a KSC general illustrated weekly; *Svet Socialismu*, the official weekly of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society; *Estetika*, a quarterly of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, devoted to general developments in the arts; and *Czechoslovak Life*, a pictorial monthly, distributed by Orbis, the foreign-language publishing house, in English, French, German, Italian, Swedish, and Czech.

News Agencies

The official Czechoslovak news agency (Ceskoslovenska Tiskova Kancelar—Ceteka, or CTK), was the sole outlet for the distribution of all foreign and domestic news. It was founded in 1918 by the first Czechoslovak government as the chief news source for newspapers and radio. In 1948 it was taken over by the Communists and has operated from that time as a party-directed facility. In 1971 it functioned as an arm of the Press and Information Office, both from its central headquarters in Prague and from the several suboffices it maintained in the larger cities and regional capitals.

The Ceteka was represented in several major foreign capitals, including those of most of the other communist countries. One of its principal links was with the Soviet Union, from which it received a high percentage of the foreign news presented to the Czechoslovak population. It also maintained a working relationship with the American news service, United Press International, from which it received extensive international photo coverage. In addition to these two agencies, Ceteka operated under exchange agreements with most of the news services of both communist and Western nations.

Domestically Ceteka, through its 1,300-man organization, distributed annually more than 35,000 news items to all principal press, television, and radio outlets. Its services also included the preparation and distribution of special news summaries, bulletins, and other informative short articles for press outlets in outlying areas. As part of its foreign service, it provided two feature services, Pragopress and Slovakopress, which supplied information concerning specialized information services and products to the foreign press and publishing houses.

Correspondents, journalists, and other employees within the news media, including Ceteka, received specialized training at selected secondary schools, institutes, and certain universities. After completion of training and before receiving permanent employment, all candidates were required to pass a qualifying examination and to

meet the requirements for acceptance into either the Czech Journalists' Union or the Slovak Journalists' Union. These requirements applied equally to salaried employees and free-lance writers.

In an effort to further influence journalists in their work, a new system of wage payments was initiated in February 1971, based on a combination of individual political reliability and writing ability. Under this new system, employees whose work displayed careful attention to party policy and a high degree of political awareness could receive additional compensation up to 50 percent of their scheduled basic salary. On the other hand, the salaries of individuals whose journalistic efforts lacked political motivation could be reduced either temporarily or permanently. If journalists who suffered pay reductions failed to show improvement over a reasonable period of time, they could be transferred to a lower rated position or be dismissed.

RADIO AND TELEVISION

Radio Broadcasting

Radio broadcasting is a state monopoly with all facilities owned and operated by Czechoslovak Radio (Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas) under the supervision of the federal Press and Information Office. In 1971 approximately twenty-six AM (amplitude modulation) and twenty-eight FM (frequency modulation) stations were engaged in domestic broadcasting. Powerful transmitters located in the Prague area also broadcast to all parts of the world on about twenty different frequencies.

Domestic broadcasting stations were grouped into four networks: Radio Prague, Radio Hvezda, the Third Program, and Radio Bratislava. Radio Prague, utilizing medium wavelengths, broadcast in Czech for audiences in Bohemia and Moravia. It was on the air for 19-1/2 hours daily Sunday through Thursday, and for 21-1/2 hours on Fridays and Saturdays. Programming consisted of news, weather reports, music, sports, and general information. Several of the regional stations in the network, in addition to carrying the Prague programs, also originated programs of local interest that were usually broadcast for 1 or 2 hours daily. Radio Bratislava was the Slovakian counterpart of Radio Prague, broadcasting in the Slovak language but also including some programs in Hungarian and Ukrainian for the large ethnic minorities in its listening area.

Radio Hvezda, which inaugurated service on August 31, 1970, replaced Radio Czechoslovakia as the countrywide AM network and broadcast in both Czech and Slovak. The programming of Radio

Hvezda also followed a general news, music, and information format, and it was on the air for 21-1/2 hours Monday through Saturday and for 20 hours on Sundays.

The called Third Program broadcast exclusively on the twenty-eight FM stations, most of which were collocated with AM stations throughout the country. It presented prestige programs directed at the general population in both Czech and Slovak. Programs included classical music, modern jazz concerts, foreign-language instruction, art and literary discussions, and full-scale operas. Almost all stations in this group were low powered and operated sixteen hours a day over a short span of frequencies extending from 66.32 to 72.50 megahertz (megacycles).

From its high-powered transmitters located near Prague, the Czechoslovak government beamed programs to all continents in several languages for many hours every day. Programs directed to European audiences were broadcast in Czech, English, French, German, Italian, Slovak, and Spanish; to Africa, in Arabic, Czech, English, French, and Slovak; to Asia and Australia, in Czech, English, and Slovak; to North America, in Czech, English, and Slovak; and to Latin America, in Czech, Portuguese, Slovak, and Spanish. Transmissions to foreign audiences usually consisted of news and commentary on Czechoslovak developments and world affairs and answers to questions sent in by listeners.

Broadcasts received in the country included twelve that emanated from Western countries. These broadcasts were heard in both Czech and Slovak for a combined total of more than 160 hours per day, and because of their wide domestic audience the broadcasts were recognized as a potential danger by the regime.

Radio Audience

Since 1960 radio broadcasts have increased in importance, and the number of listeners has also steadily increased. In 1971 the number of licensed radio subscribers was about 4 million, and almost 97 percent of all households had at least 1 receiving set. The number of listeners was far greater since the number of licensed sets included nearly 700,000 wired receivers that were installed in shops, schools, and offices for public listening. Also, family listeners and village loudspeakers increased the listening audience to an estimated rate of almost four persons per set.

By far the largest concentration of radio receivers was in the cities and towns, and the bulk of the listeners were young people and workers. The domestic production of receiving sets, already on the rise during the 1950s, multiplied rapidly with the introduction of transistors. Since the early 1960s the government has recognized radio as the most important medium of mass communication, and surveys

of listeners' habits have been undertaken periodically to determine methods of extending the use of radio for political and educational purposes.

Television Broadcasting

All television broadcasting was conducted by Czechoslovak Television (Ceskoslovensky Televize), a state-owned enterprise under the direct supervision of the Press and Information Office. From its introduction in 1953 until the mid-1960s, the medium steadily expanded its coverage and improved its programming. Since that time, however, only a small increase in the number of facilities has taken place, and only a limited amount of new equipment has been placed in operation. In 1971 the combined network utilized the Central European System of 625-line definition and broadcast its primary programs over twenty-three major stations.

Since 1970 the national network has been operating two major systems, Program I and Program II. Program I, the older and larger of the systems, operated about fourteen hours per day and carried the greatest number of original programs. Most of its telecasts received nationwide distribution, and relay stations rebroadcast a large percentage of its programs. Program II limited its operations to the evening hours, and the majority of its telecasts were repeated from Program I. The transmissions of Program II were generally localized to the Prague, Brno, Bratislava, and Ostrava areas, but plans existed for the expansion of its facilities, an increase in power, and greater diversification in its presentations.

The slow development of color television has been criticized in the press, and much of the delay has been laid to obsolescent technical equipment, a shortage of television transmitters and receivers, and a lag in the construction of modern studios. The first trial color transmissions took place in 1970 according to government plan, but the results were limited since only twelve receivers of Soviet manufacture capable of receiving these transmissions were available within the country.

By early 1971 color transmission and reception facilities had progressed somewhat, but were still far behind desired goals. A maximum of two programs were being broadcast, but reception was severely limited in range. According to existing plans, color television both in the Czech lands and in Slovakia was to be extended to several major cities during 1971 and, by 1980, acceptable color television signals were expected to cover about 50 percent of the country. Plans also existed for Tesla-Orava, the national electronics enterprise in northern Slovakia, to begin the manufacture of color television sets in 1971, but it was expected that the importation of the more expensive Soviet receivers would have to continue.

The major black and white television broadcasts originated in Prague and Bratislava, and served approximately 3 million subscribers. The bulk of the programs offered were devoted to cultural and artistic subjects, but a variety of general information material was also included. Documentary films of both Soviet and domestic origin were greatly favored, as were musical and sports programs, scientific presentations, and news analyses.

To augment domestic telecasts, an appreciable number of hours were set aside to present foreign programs. Most of these were procured from Eurovision (Western European Television) and Intervision (Eastern European Television). Eurovision programs were selectively purchased, but Intervision material was procured on a mutual exchange basis because Czechoslovakia was a member of the organization.

BOOK PUBLISHING

After the establishment of an independent Czechoslovak state in 1918 creative writing began to flourish, and a relatively large book publishing industry was created to serve it. This growing industry received its initial setback during World War II under German occupation when its capacity was severely curtailed and modified to fit the needs of the occupying forces. After the liberation of the country in 1945, book publishing again resumed its independent status and began to fill the literary vacuum caused by the war, as well as to replace the many books that had been destroyed during the occupation. The postwar revival, however, was short lived, lasting only until the Communists took over the government in 1948.

Within a year after seizing power, the communist regime made the printing, illustration, publication, and distribution of all books the prerogative of the state and created several organizations to carry out these functions. The next few years saw almost a quadrupling in the number of book titles and the number of publications produced. This large increase resulted from the emphasis given to the translation of Soviet books and the stepped-up production of an entire new set of regulations and indoctrination material needed for the detailed operation of the government under the communist system.

In 1963 the government further centralized control of book publishing in the Czechoslovak Center for Publishing and the Book Trade, a statewide authority under direction of the Ministry of Education and Culture, which was no longer in existence in 1971. The center was charged with promoting ideological objectives in the publication and sale of books and periodicals and with coordinating all activities of the publishing houses and bookshops in accordance with official guidelines.

From the establishment of this center until 1969 (the latest year for which official statistics were available), the number of book titles published annually declined. On the other hand, the number of books distributed increased appreciably each succeeding year. This decrease in production and rise in distribution reflected the limitations placed on creative writing and the successive printing of additional editions of revised or reissued texts.

After the Soviet invasion of the country in 1968, a further modification in the control of the publishing industry took place. In that year two new state-controlled publishing agencies were created—the Czech Association of Publishers and Booksellers and the Slovak Association of Publishers and Booksellers. These organizations operated in the Czech lands and in Slovakia, respectively, and each was under the supervision of the Ministry of Culture of its respective republics, there being no ministry of culture at the federal level.

Publishing

The two publishing associations controlled thirty-three Czech and nineteen Slovak publishing houses in 1971. Each of these publishers represented individual government agencies, political parties, labor unions, and various social, technical, and scientific organizations authorized to publish material. Each publishing house produced books, periodicals, and other printed matter within its own specialized field and was responsible for the editorial content and quality of its work.

The publishing associations exercised extensive control over all publishing activities. They were empowered to set up new publishing houses if the need arose, to appoint and discharge directors, coordinate editorial plans, approve requests for paper and printing equipment as well as the quota of books to be published, set selling prices, and determine the amount of subsidy to be given to each publisher. In addition, the two associations operated all bookstores and all book distribution facilities.

Prague, the site of the annual book fair, was the book publishing center. About twenty-seven of the Czech publishing houses were located there as were most printing facilities and distribution outlets. Six regional Czech publishing houses were located in Brno, Hradec Kralove, Plzen, Ostrava, Ceske Budejovice, and Liberec. Together, their output was small and generally limited to light fiction, guidebooks, and material reproduced for regional use.

Of the nineteen Slovak publishing enterprises, sixteen were located in Bratislava. The more important of these were Slovak counterparts of Czech firms that specialized in the same fields but published in the Slovak language. Only three regional Slovak publishing activities existed: one in Barvska Bystrica that published material of local

interest and two in Martin that produced bibliographies, textbooks, and encyclopedias.

Of the 5,300 titles published in 1962 the largest number was in the field of general literature and covered literary works of all types, both domestic and translations from foreign sources. A considerable number of books in this group consisted of classic Czech dramas and plays that were intended for distribution as required texts in secondary schools. Also included in this category were novels, essays, short stories, and poetry by both established modern authors and young writers. The books selected from foreign sources usually came from other socialist countries and dealt with arts and crafts, history, and folklore.

Specially prepared educational material, including temporary textbooks for use in schools of higher learning, made up the second greatest number of published titles. These required publication in large editions and covered political and economic subjects, organization reports, analyses, surveys, studies, and statistical summaries prepared by government agencies.

The social sciences dominated the third largest group of published works and spanned the fields of political science and economic theory, including reference works and bibliographies. Also in this classification were sociological treatises, law books, and regulations concerning state management procedures in welfare and other fields. The remaining areas of publishing showed only minor variations in published totals of previous years, but there was a slight decrease in the number of titles.

Distribution and Foreign Exchange

All Czech and Slovak publishers submitted lists of prospective publications, as well as stocks of printed books, to their respective publishing houses, which were responsible for domestic distribution and foreign sales. These organizations, in turn, issued periodic lists of books that were in stock or were soon to be published and distributed them to the major purchasers, such as libraries, schools, institutes, and cultural organizations. In addition, individual publishing concerns were permitted to distribute catalogs and bulletins directly to more than 700 state bookstores and to longstanding customers.

Artia, a national enterprise located in Prague and under the control of the Ministry of Foreign Trade, was responsible for the sale and exchange of publications with foreign countries. This organization maintained up-to-date lists of published material, together with prices, subscription rates, and other details that were available on request. Foreign books and publications permitted in the country were also selected and processed by Artia, but local distribution was

accomplished through Orbis, the largest foreign-language publishing house.

Book clubs have long been a stimulus to the development, publication, and wider distribution of books within the country. In late 1969 there were eight such clubs in the Czech areas and an identical number in Slovakia, including one each for Hungarian and Ukrainian readers. These clubs, whose membership totaled more than 1.5 million, were operated directly by approved publishing houses that sold books at reduced rates on the basis of an agreed number of combined obligated and optional purchases. Many subscribers were attracted to the clubs, not primarily because of the reduced prices, but because membership ensured greater likelihood of obtaining a highly desired book printed in a limited edition.

LIBRARIES

Over the years the country enjoyed a high rate of literacy and a strong interest in intellectual pursuits, and library resources kept pace with an increasing demand for reading materials. In 1971 the library system was extensive and consisted of public libraries, university-level libraries, state society libraries, and libraries associated with mass organizations. Many other institutions, such as primary and secondary schools, industrial plants, and social clubs, also maintained small library facilities, usually in the form of general reading rooms with limited lending services. The Central Council for Libraries, under the supervision of the ministries of culture and the ministries of education of the two republics, was responsible for regulating all library operations, including book procurement and the services provided to the public.

In 1970 approximately 13,600 libraries were open to the general public; another 1,700 functioned as part of university-level institutions; and 13 were associated with scientific societies. The more than 15,000 facilities had a total of over 55 million volumes. The number of registered readers had reached about 2 million, and the annual circulation of books on personal and interlibrary loan was about 52 million.

Seven libraries, only one of which was founded after 1948, maintained stocks in excess of 1 million volumes. The largest of these was the State Library of the Czechoslovak Republic, which was established in 1958 as a result of the amalgamation of six libraries, including the one founded concurrently with Charles University in 1348. This consolidated library and central book registry had more than 3.9 million volumes and maintained extensive microfilm collections available for local and interlibrary loan.

The next two largest facilities were the Slovak National Library in Martin with 1.85 million books and the National Museum Library in Prague, which held over 1.7 million volumes. The remaining four library institutions of major importance were: the University Library at Brno with stocks of 1.56 million books; the Prague City Library, which held 1.44 million volumes; the State Technical Library at Brno; and the Slovak Technical Library at Bratislava. The latter two facilities maintained stocks exceeding 1.1 million volumes each.

The libraries established under the communist regime have generally been of a technological or scientific nature. Among the largest were five state scientific-oriented libraries located at Presov and Zvolen in Slovakia and at Ostrava, Plzen, and Hradec Kralove in the Czech lands. These institutions held book stocks varying from 45,000 to more than 600,000 volumes, many representing comprehensive coverage in special technical fields.

FILMS

The film industry, including production, distribution, export and import, and exhibition, is a state monopoly; nevertheless, some films have been made that do not measure up to the ideological standards set by the communist party. Despite the reimposition of censorship and the extensive purging of personnel after the Soviet invasion of August 1968, the leadership has continued to show dissatisfaction with the form and content of many films. The government has periodically reiterated charges that the lingering Western influences that characterized much of the industry's work in the past have not been eliminated, thus causing the continued making of films that do not "correspond with the contemporary political criteria."

In an effort to rectify conditions the government, in June 1971, announced the approval of an investigative report recommending that more intensive exercise of federal authority and control be instituted throughout the industry and that stricter regulations be imposed over the production and distribution of all types of films. In approving this report the government also indicated that immediate steps were being taken to prepare new laws that would implement these recommendations in the near future.

Production

All domestic films were produced under license from the Press and Information Office by the Czech state film company located in Prague, and its counterpart, the Slovak state film company in Bratislava. The majority of films were of Czech origin, and most of them were made at the Barrandov studios in a suburb of Prague. Two

other specialized studios were located near Prague—one for the making of cartoons and the other for the production of puppet films. At Gottwaldov, about 125 miles east of Prague, a fourth studio was engaged principally in the filming of scientific and educational features. Almost all Slovak films originated at the Koliba studios in Bratislava, but a few were filmed at other studios from time to time.

Film output, in 1969, reached a total of 51 feature films, 1,056 short films (which included those made for television presentation), and about 190 newsreels. This total of 1,298 films represented a general increase in each category produced since 1960, when 917 films of all types were made. Over the same period, however, the percentage of films produced in color decreased from approximately 35 percent to less than 30 percent.

Full-length features dealt with a variety of subjects. Short films consisted for the most part of training films and educational presentations, and only a few, such as puppet films, cartoons, and documentaries, were produced for general entertainment. Newsreels were important vehicles for influencing public opinion and generally featured a high proportion of political developments along with economic achievements and sporting events.

The showing of films from the Soviet Union, Poland, Bulgaria, Romania, East Germany, and Yugoslavia has increased since 1969. Film imports from Western countries were sharply curtailed after the 1968 Soviet invasion. Because of their high quality and worldwide acceptance, the number of exported Czech films has consistently exceeded the number of foreign film imports. Since the 1940s both feature films and short films, including puppet and cartoon releases, have been highly successful in winning international recognition at annual film festivals for their artistry and technical excellence.

Distribution

The number of motion picture theaters and the attendance at film showings have decreased steadily since the mid-1960s, owing principally to the advent and expansion of television broadcasting. Larger population centers had regular motion picture theaters, but in some outlying villages, temporary arrangements for showing films were set up in community halls.

Regular film theaters decreased in number from 3,727 in 1964 to about 3,507 in 1969. In the same period seating capacity was lowered by nearly 62,000, and annual attendance fell by slightly more than 15 million from the 1964 high of about 135 million.

INFORMAL COMMUNICATION CHANNELS

Many small towns and remote villages had only limited access to foreign news. Traditionally, such areas had relied on word of mouth as the most important channel for the exchange of information. In marketplaces, community centers, churches, and almost everywhere that people congregated, news from all outside sources was analyzed and discussed along with local community affairs.

Information obtained during the visits of friends and relatives in the cities was quickly disseminated and often became the basis of judging news received from the formal, government-controlled news media. Also, the information contained in letters from abroad, even though carefully composed and subjected to censorship, probably contained references to world events.

CHAPTER 10

CHARACTER AND STRUCTURE OF THE ECONOMY

In 1971 the country embarked on its fifth five-year economic development plan, only the broad outlines of which had been worked out by midyear. After more than twenty years of centralized economic planning and management, the authorities were still groping for workable principles and methods that would ensure consistent and balanced economic growth. The plan marked a return to detailed planning and strict central controls after a brief relaxation under the impact of an aborted economic reform.

Prereform experience with a Stalinist economic model based on the primacy of heavy industry proved disastrous for an economy poor in raw materials and traditionally oriented toward export of manufactured industrial and consumer goods and of specialized farm crops. The economic management problem was compounded by a forced redirection of foreign trade in the early 1950s, under pressure by the Soviet Union, from hard currency nations of the West to the communist and developing countries.

A severe economic depression in the early 1960s, brought about by the government's economic policies, gave rise to a reform movement. Led by a liberal faction of the ruling Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (Komunisticka Strana Ceskoslovenska—KSC), the movement aimed at improving economic performance by modifying the economic system in the direction of a market economy. Opposition from conservative elements of the KSC who were fearful of losing a measure of control, from the entrenched members of the economic bureaucracy, and from workers concerned about job security frustrated the efforts of reformers and emasculated the reform program. The final blow to the reform was administered by the Soviet Union, whose leaders saw political dangers in the relaxation of economic controls and in the country's desire for closer economic relations with the West.

The new leadership installed after the Soviet-led military invasion in 1968 gave lip service to the reform and maintained that the abolition of reform measures and the reestablishment of tighter central controls did not signify a return to prereform methods. The leadership, however, insisted on the urgency of reasserting complete

party control over the economy and of reinstating the economic plan as the basic tool of economic management.

By mid-1971 economic organization and policies were still in a state of flux. New laws and regulations bearing on every aspect of the economy continued to be enacted in rapid succession. Although the new legislation and public pronouncements provided some indications about economic conditions and the direction of official policy, hard information on the state and the working of the economy was scarce. This inadequacy of published statistics constituted the major obstacle to an analysis of the economy and of economic trends. The statistics suffered from many methodological defects, failed to provide adequate definitions of statistical categories or to explain changes in methodology, and contained serious gaps in essential data. Nevertheless, available information made unmistakably clear the country's increased dependence upon the Soviet Union and other countries of Eastern Europe for the supply of raw materials and for export markets—a dependence that had been one of the main causes of economic ills in the past.

ORGANIZATION

A series of laws was enacted in December 1970, effective January 1, 1971, to strengthen the leading role of the party and to reestablish tight central controls over the economy, including its regional and management aspects, which had been briefly relaxed under the economic reform. An amendment to the Constitution of 1960 describes the economy as a unified planned economy that is guided by a single economic policy and develops on the basis of the socialist economic system; a single policy also governs employment and the movement of labor. As expressed by the amended constitution, the Czech and Slovak nations within the Czechoslovak federation combine their efforts to achieve an intensive expansion of the socialist economy. The Constitutional Law of 1968 had previously declared the Czech and Slovak nations to be independent economic entities and referred to the economy of the country as the integration of two national economies.

The constitutional law on the federation was enacted, in part, to satisfy a strong desire for economic autonomy by the Slovak people, who considered themselves disadvantaged by the pre-1968 constitutional arrangements. The Slovak government intended to expand the republic's industry so as to reduce its lag compared with the highly developed industry of the Czech republic. But even with the relatively greater freedom, attempted development of some industrial branches ran into difficulties because of irreconcilable disagreements with the government of the Czech republic.

A basic feature of the new legislation was the reintroduction of comprehensive and detailed economic planning from the top down, which had been abandoned in the 1966-69 period. The tasks set by the plans for all economic entities down to the individual enterprise are obligatory, and provision has been made for the control of their execution and for sanctions in cases of violation of the directives. The overall plans for the federation form an obligatory basis for all other economic plans. The plan is considered to be the principal instrument of economic management.

The function of planning and responsibility for developing a system of planned management of the economy devolve upon the State Planning Commission, reconstituted on January 1, 1971, as a central organ of the state. The commission is also charged with organizing the supply of materials and equipment for producers. The commission is directed by a chairman who is the vice premier of the Czechoslovak federation. His deputy, the vice chairman of the commission, is a minister of the federal government. The commission's membership consists of officials in charge of the planning commissions of the republics and other members. The chairman and vice chairman are appointed by the president; the other members are appointed by the federal government. All members of the commission are subject to recall.

Administration of the economy on the federal level, in line with policies established by the party and officially approved plans, is entrusted to nine economic ministries responsible for individual sectors of the economy and to two state agencies with economy-wide jurisdiction—the Federal Price Office and the People's Control Committee. The ministries and the Federal Price Office participate in the formulation of economic policies by submitting to the government (the government consists of the premier, vice premiers, ministers, and state secretaries) policy proposals, basic materials for the preparation of the plans, and draft proposals for dealing with key problems within the area of their jurisdiction (see ch. 6, Governmental System). The ministries are also called upon to submit to the planning commission proposals for the development of a system of planned economic management for their respective sectors, and eventually to verify the effectiveness of the adopted system. In order to ensure the harmonious development of the entire economy, the federal ministries and agencies must cooperate closely with their counterparts on the republic level.

Three of the federal economic ministries—the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Foreign Trade, and the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs—have been in existence since before January 1, 1969, when other central government economic ministries were abolished in connection with the introduction of the country's federal structure. The remaining six economic ministries—the Ministry for

Technological and Investment Development, the Ministry of Fuels and Power, the Ministry of Metallurgy and Engineering, the Ministry of Agriculture and Food, the Ministry of Transportation, and the Ministry of Communications—were created in December 1970 as essential elements in the reestablishment of central economic controls.

The competence of ministries and other government agencies of the republics is not specifically outlined in the new legislation but is implicit in the laws on the federal administrative organs. Elucidation of the laws in the country's press emphasizes the primacy of the federal bodies, particularly in the more important economic sectors. Direct management responsibility for economic branches concerned with fuels, power, metallurgy, machine building, transportation, communications, and highway construction was transferred to federal ministries from the governments of the republics, which had jurisdiction over these branches under the Constitutional Law of 1968. During 1969 and 1970 the federal government exercised only a coordinating role in these areas through a number of specialized committees. Functions relating to finance, foreign trade, labor, and social affairs had not been transferred to the republics and remained within the sole jurisdiction of federal ministries. Indications are that economic agencies of the republics have primarily a supporting role vis-à-vis their federal counterparts in the major economic areas.

The governments of the Czech and Slovak republics continue to direct the chemical, consumer goods, and food processing branches of industry located in their territories and also their local economies. Even these sectors, however, are under the supervision of the federal government; one of the vice premiers is charged with responsibility for coordinating republic activities in these fields and with safeguarding federal interests.

Under the constitutional amendments of 1970, ministers of the federal government are supposed to discuss matters of joint responsibility with ministers of the national republics, but in the event of disagreement the federal government makes the final decision. The federal government also has authority to review all decisions of the republic governments and to annul those that are in conflict with its own policies. The Constitutional Law of 1968 provided no procedure for exercising joint federal-republic jurisdiction so that decisions in the event of disagreement had to be based on compromise. That law, however, made provision for a constitutional court with authority to resolve federal-republic conflicts—a provision that has not been revoked. It is uncertain whether this court was actually created and has exercised its function.

Subordinate to the ministries are a number of branch directorates, each in charge of an enterprise association. These associations may group either several enterprises engaged in the same type of

production or related enterprises at different levels of the production process, as, for instance, in metallurgy. An enterprise may consist of one or several production units. A clear delineation of the rights and responsibilities of the individual organization levels had not been legally established by mid-1971.

The Federal Price Office, as its name implies, is the central state organ for the development of price policies, the formulation of price-fixing procedures, and the exercise of price controls. Its activities must be based on principles enunciated by the government and are subject to government approval. The government, however, has reserved for itself the right to determine prices for a number of strategic commodities and products.

Directives issued by the Federal Price Office are legally binding. The office may delegate authority for price determination within the framework of established procedures and regulations to other economic entities. It may also direct price organs of the republics, whose jurisdiction was substantially curtailed compared with the 1969-70 period, to institute special price controls in order to verify the accuracy of information submitted to it in the context of price administration.

The People's Control Committee, an organ of the federal government, acts in cooperation with control committees at the republic and local levels to control the implementation of measures enacted by the government. In the economic area its major function is to ensure that enterprises and other organizations adhere strictly to the provisions of the economic plans and that measures for increasing industrial efficiency are universally carried out. The committee must report to the Federal Assembly on findings obtained through its control activities and on the application of control measures. The control committees are composed of enterprise executives, chairmen of party and labor union organizations, and representatives of the State Bank and of major trading organizations.

STRUCTURE

According to official data, national income (net material product, which excludes many government and private services) in 1970 amounted to about Kč280 billion (1 koruna equals US\$0.14 at the official, but artificial, rate of exchange—see Glossary) in terms of 1967 administratively determined prices. National income increased by almost 55 percent after 1960, at an average annual rate of 4.4 percent. The 1962-65 period, however, had been one of economic stagnation, and national income in 1963 and 1964 was actually lower than it had been in 1961 and 1962. The annual rate of growth in the 1965-70 period was therefore substantially higher than the ten-year average,

namely, 6.3 percent; the growth rate was reported to be 8.5 percent in 1968, 6.5 percent in 1969 and about 5 percent in 1970.

Considering the economic dislocation caused by the military invasion by the Warsaw Pact nations in August 1968 and the subsequent political purges involving large numbers of economic management and technical personnel, Western observers have questioned the validity of the official data on the growth of national income in 1968 and 1969. The United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), in its *Economic Survey of Europe in 1969*, used estimates of national income growth rates for Czechoslovakia that were lower than the official data, after pointing out the tenuous nature of all measures of economic output growth. Compared with officially estimated average annual growth rates for the 1950-67 period ranging from 5.4 to 6.1 percent, depending upon the method of calculation, the commission's estimates ranged from only 4.8 to 5.2 percent.

The reported national income in 1970 amounted to about Kč19,000 on a per capita basis, which is equivalent to US\$2,640 at the official rate of exchange. Comparable data on per capita income for other nations are available for 1968, when the per capita national income of the Czechoslovak population in terms of the official exchange rate amounted to US\$2,426. This sum was higher than the per capita national income reported by the Statistical Office of the United Nations for all the countries of the world, except the United States. At the legal rate of US\$0.028 per Kč, which was charged by authorized banks for small amounts of foreign exchange granted to residents for travel purposes, the per capita national income was equivalent to US\$485 in 1968 and US\$528 in 1970.

At the Fourteenth Party Congress in May 1971, the KSC general secretary, Gustav Husák, actually claimed that, with the exception of passenger cars, the population's level of consumption was higher than in any "capitalist" country. In April 1968, however, the reformist premier Oldrich Cernik told the legislature that per capita income in the country lagged about 30 to 40 percent behind incomes in economically advanced nations. About the same time, the country's leading economist stated that per capita production was 50 percent above that in France, but consumption was less than half as high.

Official statistics on the structure of the economy in terms of sectoral contributions to the national income in current prices for each of the years 1960 to 1968 show a decline in the relative importance of industry and agriculture and a rise in the shares of construction, transport and communications, and trade. The contribution of industry to national income declined from a high of 66.7 percent in 1965 to a low of 60.1 percent in 1968, and that of agriculture and forestry dropped from 15.8 percent in 1960 to 13.1 percent in 1968. Construction contributed 11.2 percent of the national

income in 1968; transport and communications, 4.2 percent; trade, 10.3 percent; and other activities that were unspecified, 1.1 percent.

Almost 96 percent of the national income in the 1963-63 period was produced by the socialized sector of the economy, including more than 36 percent by state enterprise and less than 10 percent by collectives. The private sector, limited to small-scale handicraft shops, service enterprises, and private farms, contributed little more than 4 percent. Nevertheless, in the spring of 1971, some of the small businesses were shut down, and the activities of the remaining enterprises were to be reduced. At the same time, further collectivization of small private farms was undertaken in the Slovak Socialist Republic (Slovakia), where these farms occupied a total area of 458,000 hectares (1 hectare equals 2.47 acres), or 17 percent of the agricultural land. Most of these farms were located in areas that could not be effectively amalgamated into collective or state farms (see ch. 11, Agriculture and Industry).

A statistical representation of the structure of the economy reflects the system of prices used, and any change in internal price relations alters the structural image. Thus, taking the year 1966 for which relevant data are available as an example, the respective shares of industry and agriculture in national income were 67.4 and 9.8 percent in terms of 1960 prices, compared to 62.4 and 10.8 percent in prices of 1967. In terms of the prices that prevailed in 1966, the respective shares of industry and agriculture were 63.3 and 13.1 percent.

The distortion of the structural aspect of the economy through the price system was pointed out in a study for the internal use of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences published in 1968. That study estimated the real contribution of agriculture to the national income to have been 24 percent in 1966, compared to the official figures of 11 to 13 percent.

The shares of the national income devoted annually to consumption and investment varied substantially during the 1960-68 period. Total consumption (personal and government) rose from 82.4 percent in 1960 to 90.2 percent in 1965 and declined sharply to 77.4 percent in 1967 and 76.8 percent in 1968. Personal consumption alone followed a similar trend, except for 1968, rising from 64.6 percent in 1960 to 70.2 percent in 1965 and dropping subsequently to 58.6 percent in 1967 and 1968. The share of investment rose from 17.6 percent in 1960 to 20.5 percent in 1961, declined progressively to 9.1 percent in 1965, and increased sharply in subsequent years to 16.5 percent in 1966, 22.6 percent in 1967, and 23.2 percent in 1968.

As in the case of the statistics on national income by sector of origin, the validity of the official data on the distribution of the national income is open to question because of the distorting effect of price changes and unexplained variations in some of the published figures from year to year. Thus, for instance, the share of investment

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ECONOMIC REFORM

From about 1965 the organization and management of the economy were in a state of flux as a result of an aborted economic reform and of a counterreform that was not completed by mid 1971. Protagonists of the reform included several noted economists, led by Ota Sik, and liberal elements in the party structure. The aim of the reform was to make the economy more efficient and more responsive to the needs of the population through a structural reorganization and the introduction of a more effective system of incentives.

Conservative party elements, fearful that relaxation of central controls would weaken the influence of the party, succeeded in obstructing the progress of the reform and eventually in eliminating the reform measures altogether. This development was complicated by the intervention of the Soviet Union in support of the conservatives (see ch. 7, Political Dynamics and Values).

Background of the Reform

Impetus for the economic reform was provided by the stagnation of the economy in the 1962-65 period, during which national income increased by less than 2 percent. Blame for the poor economic performance was placed by many of the country's economists and by some party leaders primarily on the distortion of the economic structure and of the foreign trade pattern under pressure from the Soviet Union, and on shortcomings of the Soviet-imposed centralized system of economic planning and management. An important contributing cause was a sudden collapse of trade with the People's Republic of China (Communist China) in the wake of the ideological split between that country and the Soviet Union. This development made it necessary to import additional food and materials from Western countries, with adverse effects on the balance of trade and payments.

Before World War II and from the end of that war until about 1951 the economy was well balanced, based on imports of raw materials and the sale of a wide range of high quality consumer goods and machinery in foreign markets. Foreign trade was conducted almost entirely with Western countries. Food production was sufficient for domestic needs, and exported hops enjoyed a worldwide reputation for quality. Diversification of production, adaptation to the requirements of international technological progress, and high productive efficiency were the main sources of the economy's strength.

A decision taken by the party and government on direct instructions from Joseph Stalin in February 1950 to speed up industrial growth with emphasis on heavy industry entailed a basic

restructuring of the traditional economy and a redirection of the foreign trade. Overexpansion of the capital goods industry at the expense of other industrial branches and economic sectors resulted in stagnation of agricultural production, shortages of consumer goods and housing, and a decline in services, all of which had a deleterious impact on the standard of living.

The strain placed by the expansion of heavy industry on investment resources and a shortage of foreign exchange also prevented the replacement of obsolescent and obsolete machinery and equipment, with a consequent reduction in productive efficiency, deterioration of product quality, and an ultimate loss of the country's international competitive position and foreign markets. In the early 1950s the bulk of the foreign trade shifted from countries of the West to the Soviet Union and other communist states, with a resultant loss of hard currency earnings.

A highly centralized system of economic planning on what is generally known as the Stalinist model compounded the difficulties created by the structural changes. Under this system comprehensive and detailed plans for the operation of all branches of the economy were formulated by the central authority in quantitative terms, and specific tasks based on these plans and having the force of law were assigned to individual enterprises and other economic entities. These assignments set definite targets for all important elements of enterprise management and operation, such as the volume and types of output, kinds and cost of materials, number of workers, schedule of wages and total wage bill, and the nature and cost of capital investments and maintenance. The system severely limited the opportunities of managers to exercise initiative and rewarded them primarily for attaining and surpassing the target for gross output in physical terms. The managers were usually political appointees, often without the requisite professional competence.

Production assignments were usually made to enterprises without adequate knowledge about their productive capacity or the general conditions under which they had to operate. This caused a wide variation in the burden imposed upon individual enterprises by the production plans. Quite often, therefore, inefficient enterprises were able to attain or surpass the assigned task, whereas some of the efficient ones found it impossible to reach the target. Since financial rewards were based on the degree of fulfillment of prescribed tasks, inefficient producers were often rewarded, but efficient ones were penalized. Inevitably, this inequity had adverse effects on morale and initiative.

Initiative and the drive for self-improvement were also blunted by an egalitarian policy regarding rates of pay. Under this policy the remuneration of engineers was equal to the wages of a locksmith and inferior to the pay of a construction worker. Other professional

personnel earned less than the engineers, and elementary school teachers' pay was lower than the wages of unskilled laborers.

Faulty central planning and production in excess of or below assigned targets by individual enterprises caused a chronic disorganization of the supply of materials and equipment, with many attendant shortages. In addition to demographic factors, low productivity was responsible for a continuing shortage of labor. Official price policy set prices for many basic commodities below the cost of production. To reduce various shortages as they arose, frequent unscheduled changes were ordered in the production programs of enterprises without necessarily making provision for the changed requirements. Under these conditions, the pressure for quantitative increases in output, with the associated economic rewards, fostered various economically inimical practices by managers intent on safeguarding their positions. Chief among these practices were a hoarding and inordinate waste of materials and labor, a resistance to technological and product innovation, a deterioration of product assortment and quality, and a disregard of consumer needs that gave rise to an accumulation of huge stocks of unsalable goods.

Administrative determination of prices introduced many price distortions and was too crude to achieve an optimum allocation of resources. Similarly, an ideological disregard of capital costs and economic rent, coupled with the allocation of investment funds by the state, precluded a rational investment policy. This led to an overextended construction program beyond the capacity of the building construction and machine building industries, with consequent delays in the completion of individual projects and a steadily rising volume of unfinished construction. The breakdown of the construction program negated plans for the expansion of industrial plant capacity and thus contributed to the reduction in the tempo of economic growth. Another important factor in the decline of the rate of growth was a significant reduction in the rate of return on invested capital.

The continuing large-scale program of investment and heavy industry expansion without a corresponding increase in the availability of consumer goods and services created severe inflationary pressures that could barely be controlled through rigid price fixing. The situation could not be relieved through consumer imports because the progressive lag of export products behind world technological and quality standards caused increasing losses on Western markets. Other communist states could not supply consumer goods because they experienced similar shortages themselves. A clear sign of the growing inflation was the rapid rise in the suppressed buying power of the population, reflected in the increase of savings accounts from about Kc19 billion in 1960 to Kc45 billion in 1967 and Kc54 billion in 1969.

Reform Principles

Widespread criticism of the economic system and an intense public debate on the merits of proposals made by economists for an attack on the root causes of the economic stagnation resulted in the publication by the KSC in October 1964 of a set of principles for an economic reform. The published document omitted the economists' proposals for political, social, and institutional changes that they considered essential for a successful implementation of reform measures. Opposition from conservative elements in the party delayed formal adoption of the reform principles until January 1965. The principles became generally known as the New Economic Model.

Approval of the reform principles by the Central Committee of the KSC in January 1965 constituted a victory for the advocates of the reform. Strong opposition to the reform, nevertheless, continued and caused delays in the application of the new principles, most of which never had the chance of being fully tested in practice. The opposition emanated from conservative elements in the party, including the first secretary, Antonin Novotny, from the entrenched economic bureaucracy, and from workers supported by their labor unions.

Despite the prevailing labor shortage, workers feared the loss of jobs through the elimination of uneconomic enterprises—a situation that had arisen before in connection with the closing of some obsolete mines in Bohemia. They also feared a possible loss of income under the new wage system, which would take account of the efficiency of performance, and the anticipated need to work harder under the new economic regime. An example of reduced wage income was provided by a few plants that had introduced some of the elements of the reform on an experimental basis.

Managers, engineers, technicians, and plant foremen had ample ground for misgivings about the new principles. Most of them owed their positions more to party loyalty than to professional competence. A survey conducted in 1965 disclosed that 60 percent of the top executives were not fully qualified for their positions and that only 23 percent of the deputy managers and 33 percent of the engineers had the required technical education. Forty-three percent of the personnel working as technicians had no professional training, and only 14 percent of the plant foremen met the desired educational standards. At the same time, half the graduates of higher technical schools were still waiting for jobs.

Aside from the practical difficulties involved in carrying out the reform and the anticipated temporary disorganization of the economy, the party leadership also faced a political problem. Decentralization of economic controls and the attendant rise in the authority of enterprise directors and managers threatened to reduce the power of the party and state organs. This ran counter to Novotny's repeated

emphasis on the unifying and directive role of the central authorities in the conduct of economic affairs. The party's political problem was aggravated by the need to replace unqualified managerial and technical personnel who were loyal party members and by the growing grievances of labor and the labor unions.

The officially approved reform principles represented a strongly limited and half-hearted reformers' program. The party and government leadership at first insisted that the projected reform was intended only to correct inefficiencies of the prevailing system—not to change the system itself. Conservatives urged party members to combat the view that the new policy constituted an introduction of liberalism in the socialist economy. They maintained that the economy had sufficient latent reserves and opportunities to solve the problems by raising output and reducing excessive costs.

The basic aim of reformers was to make the economy more efficient and dynamic. The means to be used for achieving this end included shifting from a method of economic expansion that depended upon steadily increasing inputs of capital and labor, and, emphasizing quantity of output above all other considerations, to a method that would more effectively use existing resources and place greater stress on quality. The economy was to be freed from the shackles of detailed administrative planning, and greater scope for the interplay of market forces was to be allowed. This would entail replacing the prevailing sellers' market, based on a disregard of consumer needs and shortages of goods, with a buyers' market in which consumer needs and preferences would become major determinants of output, and producers would be exposed to pressures of domestic and foreign competition. The role of central economic planning and guidance would be limited to determining the major long-term trends of economic development and to ensuring adherence to the plan through appropriate financial and fiscal policies and through an improved system of material incentives.

The published reform principles, however, which constituted the official reform program, were sufficiently broad to be open to different interpretations and did not provide a concrete set of measures for attaining the desired ends. They were particularly vague on the needed basic changes in the economy's working arrangements. Four years after their adoption—in 1969—Premier Oldrich Cernik stated that the economic program was not concrete enough and that only simplified ideas existed about linking the plan with the market.

A copy of the original party resolution on the reform principles is not available. As elaborated through subsequent bargaining between proponents and opponents of reform and as formally introduced on January 1, 1967, the New Economic Model included the following basic elements.

Economic controls were to be decentralized by expanding the authority and responsibility of enterprises. The central planning authority was to concern itself only with overall long-term planning of economic development and provide general guidance through the formulation of a limited number of economic goals. Enterprises and their associations were to be free to determine short-term production targets within the framework of the overall goals.

Enterprises were to become financially viable, realizing a profit from their sales proceeds after covering all costs and various state levies. State subsidies were to be gradually eliminated, and enterprises that could not operate at a profit would be shut down.

Realized profit, rather than fulfillment of planned quantitative output targets, was to become the main criterion for evaluating the economic performance of enterprises. This change in emphasis was expected to make enterprises more competitive and more responsive to the demands of consumers. At the same time, producers were to be progressively exposed to foreign competition, thus forcing them to increase productivity and to lower prices.

A realistic system of prices was to be introduced that would be based on actual costs and reflect supply-demand conditions and world prices. The system included three categories of prices: fixed, flexible, and free. Fixed prices were to apply to important raw materials and basic consumer necessities; they were to be controlled by central authorities, and any change proposed by producers would require their approval. Flexible prices would be set by producers at a level calculated to maximize their profits, within limits prescribed by the price authorities. Free prices, primarily on luxury items and goods in ample supply, would be allowed to find their own level through the operation of the market mechanism. The new price system was to be introduced gradually, with a view to market conditions, so as to obviate the danger of speculation and inflation.

Free grants of investment funds by the state were to be discontinued. Enterprises would finance investments with their own resources and interest-bearing bank loans. They would also be subject to a capital tax, that is, an interest charge on their total capital investment. All investment projects would have to be fully justified with regard to need, effectiveness, and cost, as a means of halting the widespread waste of investment resources. Investment by the state would be limited to key economic development projects.

The wage and salary system was to be revised so as to eliminate egalitarianism in the wage structure and substitute for it a system based on individual work performance and on results obtained by the employing enterprise. Wage and salary payments would consist of a fixed element determined by an officially set schedule and a flexible increment based on the individual employee's performance and on the level of profits attained by the enterprise. A greater spread was to be

introduced between the remuneration of managerial and technical personnel and the pay of blue-collar workers.

As a means of earning much-needed hard currencies, exports to Western countries were to be stimulated through incentives for enterprises to make their products competitive on world markets; the incentives were to include the right to retain a portion of the foreign currency profit. To facilitate the adaptation of domestic producers to world market requirements, enterprises, under certain conditions, were to be allowed direct access to foreign markets, rather than through foreign trade organizations.

To ensure greater concentration and specialization of industrial production, enterprises were to be organized into branch associations resembling trusts or cartels, under the supervision of branch directorates. The main function of the branch directorates was to promote the development of the enterprises under their control and to form an intermediate link between the enterprises and the ministries. The directorates would have responsibility for such activities as research and design bureaus, testing laboratories, and marketing organizations. They would also be responsible for the performance of enterprises under their jurisdiction, and the remuneration of directorate employees would depend upon the level of enterprise profits. Responsibility for the performance of its member enterprises necessarily entailed a substantial measure of control by the association over their finances, investments, and production programs. The division of authority between the association and its members was not clearly defined.

Implementation of the Reform

Only fragmentary information is available on the extent to which the reform principles were applied in practice during the brief period from January 1967 to the Soviet-led invasion in August 1968 and the subsequent overthrow of the reform government in April 1969. Many of the projected reforms were reported to have remained in the blueprint stage and the slight change actually achieved was attributed to initiative and efforts at lower economic levels. The reform elements in the central administration could accomplish little because their energies were absorbed in a struggle with conservatives for political control; they considered political liberalization to be a prerequisite for the successful implementation of the economic reform (see ch. 7, Political Dynamics and Values).

Reform measures introduced in the 1967-68 period included primarily a reorganization of the economic administrative structure, an increase in wholesale prices, and a shift from physical volume of output to gross profit in the measurement of enterprise performance. In agriculture the reform was limited mainly to minor changes in

planning, pricing, and procurement procedures and to the formation of rural common interest associations (see ch. 11, Agriculture and Industry).

The National Economic Council under the chairmanship of the government's deputy premier was established as the central body for the coordination of overall economic policies. Its membership consisted of the deputy premier for economic affairs, several key economic ministers, the director of the State Bank, and the chairman of the Slovak Planning Commission. To ensure the council's preeminence in economic policy matters, a number of superministerial bodies, such as the State Planning Commission and the State Commission for Technology, were downgraded to ministerial level. The council was granted broad authority in the development and implementation of economic policies, subject only to final approval by the government.

Promoters of the reform justified the apparent paradox of creating a new top level central economic policy and control body as a means of providing greater freedom for enterprises, on the grounds that the state had to keep in its hands the instruments through which it carried out its policies and that state intervention was needed whenever the self-interest of enterprises came into conflict with the interests of society. State intervention, however, would not be arbitrary, the reform promoters maintained, and the rights and duties of government agencies and enterprises would be respected.

Formulation of binding annual economic plans was abandoned in 1968 and replaced by a set of broad economic targets that indicated the desired direction of economic development. Enterprises were to prepare their own plans within the framework of the general guidelines and make provision for needed supplies and sales outlets through contracts with suppliers and distributing organizations.

As originally planned, enterprises were grouped into branch associations—the so-called economic production units. Although an extensive debate was carried on over the principle of voluntary association and the implied right of dissociation, this principle was not widely applied in practice. Contrary to the reformer's plans, the general directorates in charge of the associations used their position to impose administrative controls over the enterprises, as the ministries had done in the past. The large number of targets formerly imposed by the planning agencies and ministries were replaced by similar targets and a number of new ones imposed by the branch directorates. Many of the targets were compulsory; those that were not carried a moral obligation for the enterprises to fulfill them.

From the point of view of enterprise managers the situation had actually worsened. The obligations placed upon them continued, but much of the support that they had previously received from the ministries was lost. Although the reform planners contemplated that

production would become consumer oriented, the branch associations emerged as powerful monopolies intent on reaping the largest possible economic benefits without regard to the needs of consumers.

Reorganization of the internal management structure of enterprises involved mainly a short-lived experiment in creating so-called enterprise councils from June to October 1968. The enterprise councils were an outgrowth of the reformers' intent to substitute a democratic form of management for the administrative control by the ministries. Direct involvement of workers in the management of enterprises was expected to bring about an improvement in morale and performance by calling into play the workers' self-interest. The composition of the councils and the role they were to assume in management had not been fully worked out when the formation of new councils was halted by the 1968 invasion and the resumption of control by the party conservatives. Important points under discussion concerned the councils' right to elect enterprise managers and the relationship of the councils to labor unions.

The number of elected enterprise councils actually created or the number of preparatory committees charged with their creation was never established. According to one press report, about 300 of the councils and the same number of committees were in existence in mid-1969, mostly in the metals industry. Another source cited a figure of 450 enterprise councils at the end of 1968, mainly in the Czech republic, about one-third of which were still in the preparatory stage.

The activities of enterprise councils differed materially from enterprise to enterprise. Many remained inactive, preferring to wait for the legal regulation of their status and the definition of their activities. Others confined themselves to questions of personnel, including the dismissal and replacement of enterprise directors. Some enterprise councils concerned themselves with economic questions, including the effectiveness of enterprise operations; plans for the immediate and more distant future; investments and their financing; and organization and management. Conflict between the councils and enterprise directors could not always be avoided. Considering their short life, the effect of the councils on economic development could not be assessed.

Industrial wholesale prices were revised for about 400 commodity groups effective January 1, 1967. The intent of the reformers had been to set prices at a level that would allow enterprises successfully catering to market demand a profit commensurate with the efficiency in the use of their resources, but a clear conception of what constituted enterprise resources or a proper relationship between them and profit was lacking.

The new prices were established in terms of average costs within industrial subbranches plus an average profit. Their computation was based on exaggerated cost data supplied by enterprises vitally

interested in the eventual level of prices and on values for fixed and circulating capital determined under the previously prevailing arbitrary price system. The new prices were based on a formula that ignored the idea of a rate of return on investment and that defined profit as the sum of two elements—one proportional to the value of fixed assets and inventories, with a differential percentage applied to each, and the other related to the total wage bill.

The use of the so-called two channel price formula resulted in substantial and economically unjustifiable variations in the rates of return on investment between industrial branches whose production processes involved different ratios of capital to labor. In many important instances the disparity in rates of return, reported to have ranged from a loss of 0.2 percent to a profit of 27.2 percent, worked counter to the announced government intention of promoting certain neglected branches of industry.

Relative prices for products within each commodity group were not changed but merely shifted in proportion to the change in the average price level of the entire group. The output of many products that entered into the price calculation but later proved to be of relatively low profitability was subsequently discontinued. In the estimation of proponents, opponents, and foreign observers, the price reform not only failed to reflect existing costs, productive efficiency, or supply-demand relationships but actually introduced major new price disproportions. The situation was not remedied by further wholesale price revisions in 1968 and 1969.

A serious miscalculation was also made concerning the increase in the absolute level of wholesale prices. It was officially estimated that the price reform would raise the wholesale price level by about 19 percent, and important decisions on such matters as inventory revaluation, enterprise taxes, and prices of imported products were made on that basis. The actual increase in the price level, however, amounted to almost 30 percent, but the level of production costs proved to be lower than the level that served as the base for the price recalculation.

The extent to which the three-category price system served to make prices more flexible is uncertain. According to one report, 64 percent of the total output volume was to remain subject to strict price controls; 29 percent would be allowed to fluctuate, half of it between upper and lower limits and the other half subject to a maximum only. Only 7 percent of the output volume was to be included in the free category. All basic materials and 92 percent of the foodstuffs were to have fixed prices. In the field of consumer goods, fixed prices applied to 78 percent of the output; flexible and free prices each applied to 11 percent.

Another source, however, reported that 13 percent of all industrial wholesale prices were in the free category when the revised prices

were introduced in January 1967 and that the goal of freeing virtually all prices was announced at that time. The same source also reported that in the retail price field the free category was reduced from 30 percent to about 5 to 10 percent in June 1969. The reference in this instance appears to be to the number of products rather than to the volume of output.

The wholesale price miscalculation gave many producers huge windfall profits, which were only partially reduced by new taxes. The profit margin of enterprises rose to 81 percent as against 22 percent envisaged by the price authorities; the gross income of enterprises increased by Kc20 billion above the anticipated level. This large excess income negated the government's intent to make enterprises dependent on bank credit in the initial stages of the reform, as a means of putting pressure on enterprise managers to increase efficiency and thus build up their own cash reserves. Even inefficient enterprises were able to make a profit under the new price schedule and thus escaped the pressure of the market.

Since controls over wage payments and labor mobility were relaxed under the reform, many enterprises were able to use their excess revenues to raise wages beyond levels justified by increases in productivity, as a means of retaining their labor force or attracting new workers. They were also able to build up inventories and to expand self-financed investments. These activities and the free cash balances retained by the enterprises contributed very largely to an increase in inflationary pressures. According to official data, retail prices advanced by only 2 percent in 1967 and 1.3 percent in 1968, but the country's press reported increases for various products in 1967 ranging from 5 to 17 percent.

The unexpectedly large volume of earnings that became available to enterprises for investment and the disproportion among prices for materials and equipment also acted to disrupt the government's investment program. The usefulness of the criteria established for evaluating the effectiveness of individual investment projects was destroyed by the use of unrealistic prices, and the ability of many enterprises to finance their investments without recourse to borrowing virtually nullified the control that the government intended to exercise over investments through credit approval procedures. As a result, the desired shift of investments from capital goods industries to industries producing consumer goods failed to materialize, the number of new construction starts continued to be excessive, and the volume of unfinished construction grew substantially.

Another grave mistake was made in shifting from physical volume of gross output to profit as a yardstick for measuring enterprise performance and determining the magnitude of incentive payments. For reasons of simplicity in verifying enterprise records, instead of using net profits from sales or profits before taxes as a standard—as

contemplated by the reformers—a so-called gross revenue produced was employed. Gross revenue produced consists of the value of total output less costs of production, plus any other revenue the enterprise may receive. Since it includes the value of increases in unsold inventories, the use of this standard obviated the need for enterprises to ensure the production of marketable products.

Inventory stocks increased by Kč9.1 billion in 1967 and Kč10.5 billion in 1968, including a large volume of unsalable goods, whereas the supply of many consumer goods remained far short of the demand. A Slovak economist is reported to have estimated that about 20 percent of the national income in 1967 consisted of unsold products. In 1968 fully half the increase in national income was accounted for by the rise in inventories. One of the most objectionable features of the gross output method thus reemerged under the new scheme.

Counterreform

The resumption of power by the conservative elements of the party in April 1969 put an end to the reform and signaled a return to stronger central controls over the economy, even though the leadership continued to give lipservice to the reform and asserted that there would be no return to economic management by directive. No clear-cut economic policies, however, were formulated by mid-1971, and no solutions were found for the chronic economic problem areas of planning, management, prices, wages, and incentives. The working of the economic system remained blurred to foreign observers. There was clear evidence, nevertheless, of greater Soviet influence over economic policy decisions and of the country's increased dependence on trade with the Soviet Union and the other communist states of Eastern Europe (see ch. 7. Political Dynamics and Values; ch. 8, Foreign Relations).

Great importance has been attached by the leadership to the reestablishment of the central plan as the main instrument of economic management and control. An overall plan for 1970 was formulated by the central authorities of the federation and the republics. This plan was subsequently broken down by the ministries and economic committees into targets and priorities for individual economic branches and by branch directorates into plans for individual enterprises. These plans were formalized in agreements between the enterprises and the state. The method of planning from above was adopted after draft plans prepared by ministries on the basis of recommendations from enterprises and trusts were found by the central authorities to have embodied all the faults of the prereform era, including low output targets; a disregard for export

needs; and exaggerated requirements for investment and wage funds, domestic and imported materials, and labor.

Serious problems were encountered in completing the plan. As of March 1970, decisions had not been made on capital investments, foreign trade targets had not been determined, and the availability of the most important supplies on the domestic market had not been ascertained. Enterprises made the signing of plan agreements conditional on the assurance of adequate supplies of funds, materials, and labor. Some of the greatest difficulties in contract compliance arose in supplier-buyer relations under conditions of short supply. A smooth and purposeful functioning of the economy according to a central plan was therefore precluded.

Similar problems emerged in the preparation of the economic plan for 1971. The original drafts submitted to the central planning authorities by the enterprise associations and various government departments were returned with instructions to resubmit them after an upward adjustment in the light of the central authorities' evaluation of the needs and potentialities of the society. Objections were also raised by the State Planning Commission against the trend in foreign trade planning by the foreign trade organizations and branch managements, whose plans called for larger imports and lower exports than those specified by the central directive; implementation of these plans would entail an increase in the foreign trade deficit.

Five-year plan directives for the 1971-75 period were approved by the Fourteenth Party Congress in May 1971. In addressing the congress, party General Secretary Husak made it clear that economic planning and management were still at a low level of efficiency. Husak emphasized the urgent need to put planning on a scientific basis, to strengthen the role of central planning as a tool of management, to develop financial and credit plans, and to evolve an effective system for the regulation of relations between the state and enterprises. In the further development of the management system he proposed to rely on elements of past experience that had proved to be useful, on the experience of other communist states, particularly the Soviet Union, and on the application of modern mathematical methods and computer technology, which remained to be mastered.

A major obstacle to successful economic planning and management, not mentioned by Husak, remains in the form of a rigid and distorted wholesale price system. Effective January 1, 1970, wholesale prices were rolled back to their January 1, 1969, levels, and a price freeze was placed on imports. Further price increases were made illegal, except for certain special cases, and severe financial penalties were instituted for price infractions. The price moratorium necessitated a substantial rise in state subsidies from the budget and perpetuated the prevailing, economically harmful price distortions. Officials expected the price freeze to continue through 1972.

The formulation of a system of prices that would ensure the development of the economy in accordance with the five-year plan directives was given high priority. As late as May 1971, however, the presidium and the price authorities were still engaged in developing a basic concept of an improved price system and principles that should guide price policy under the new plan. Earlier that year the chief of the Federal Price Office expressed his misgivings that even a most perfectly drafted price reform would not be able to achieve a rational relationship among prices. The main reason for the leadership's uncertainty regarding prices and price formation lies in the absence of a workable price theory under conditions of a centrally directed economy.

The relatively greater freedom that enterprises gained under the reform to make decisions regarding their own operations was withdrawn by the counterreform. The powers of decisionmaking were transferred to the newly reestablished ministries and to the branch directorates subordinated to them. Although a draft law on the status of economic enterprises, including their rights and responsibilities and their relation to superior bodies and to one another, had been in preparation for several years, no such law had been enacted by mid-1971.

At the party congress, Husák ascribed the continuing shortcomings of economic management to slackness, bureaucracy, and irresponsibility and demanded a thorough eradication of these evils. Achievement of this aim, he said, called for a clear definition of organizational and management relations, a clarification of the status and area of competence of the different management levels, a strengthening of the party's policy toward the core of activists in each economic entity, and the assertion of full personal competence and responsibility by these leading workers.

Husák placed great stress on the political role of leading workers. They were to ensure the realization of the party's programs and to devote all their abilities to improving efficiency in every field. Husák promised them the full support of the party, but he also warned them that the party would become more exacting and would exercise stricter control over them. He announced that the party and the socialist system could not and would not assume responsibility for the leading workers' mistakes and would only criticize them and call them to account. Convenient scapegoats have thus been provided for any future failings of the economic management system.

New measures were adopted after mid-1969 to restore stricter controls over labor and the labor market. In December 1969 the labor code was amended with the intention of strengthening labor discipline, raising worker morale, and improving production procedures. Specific provisions were aimed at excessive job turnover, absenteeism, and loafing. Binding limits were reestablished for 1970

on the numbers of workers to be employed in each economic and industrial branch. For 1971 manpower limits were extended to individual enterprises, and ceilings on enterprises' wage funds were reintroduced. Control was also reestablished over the pay of individual workers, and centrally prescribed production norms were set for individual jobs. As a means of spurring workers' initiative and productivity, socialist competition between enterprises, individual workers, and worker brigades was reinstated in 1970.

THE FIVE YEAR PLAN FOR 1971-75

Directives for the fifth Five Year Plan (covering the 1971-75 period) were approved by the Fourteenth Party Congress at the end of May 1971. According to Husak, the directives were based on a realistic appraisal of available resources and growth possibilities, and their formulation took into account past achievements and failures. Economic growth during the five-year period is to be attained through an overall increase in efficiency, mainly through a rise in labor productivity since the labor supply cannot be significantly increased. The rise in productivity is scheduled to achieve at least 95 percent of the planned 28 percent growth in national income. Productivity in industry is to be increased by 30 to 32 percent. The rate of economic growth for the relatively less developed Slovak republic is planned to be substantially higher than the rate envisaged for the Czech republic.

The party leadership fully recognized the difficulty of the task and the possibility of failure in some areas. The need for greater efficiency was not a new element in the economic situation, according to Husak. This need had been stressed by the party at the end of the 1950s and again at the thirteenth and fourteenth party congresses. The new factor in the situation, Husak said, was the degree of urgency of the problem at that time and the consistency and energy that the party intended to apply to its solution. At about the same time, party presidium member Josef Lenart, in commenting on what he referred to as the immense task posed by the plan, remarked that during the life of the plan and at its conclusion the party may have to call some people to account for having failed in their missions. Lenart's skepticism had a sound foundation: the two preceding five-year plans had to be abandoned.

The main stated purpose of the five-year plan is to raise the living level of the population on the basis of a steady increase in productivity and output. This concern for the population is said to prove the superior humanitarian nature of socialist society.

Attainment of the planned goals is predicated on a substantial increase in the flow of raw materials from the Soviet Union, assured

through an agreement reached in October 1970, and a more economic use of material resources. Trade with the Soviet Union and other communist states is to be intensified; whereas the volume of total trade is to increase by 36 to 38 percent, trade with the communist countries is scheduled to grow by 43 to 45 percent. Great importance is also attached by the party to a closer integration of the economy with the economies of the member states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON), particularly the Soviet Union.

Investment is to be stabilized at 29 to 30 percent of the national income. Further development of science and technology is to provide the means for qualitative improvement in the economy. Industry is called upon to increase production, including food processing, by 34 to 36 percent; provide 44 percent more goods for export; expand the supply for the domestic market by at least 25 percent; and improve the quality of its output.

The volume of construction is to be increased by 35 to 37 percent over the volume in the preceding five-year period (at the party congress in May 1971 Husak cited a figure of 38 percent). The largest increase in capital investment is scheduled for housing (63 percent) and the lowest, for agriculture (21 percent). The comparable figures for industry and for transport and communications are 37 and 50 percent, respectively.

Agricultural production is slated to rise by 14 percent, and state procurement of farm products is to increase by 18 to 19 percent. Attainment of these goals presupposes the continued intensification of production, the introduction of industrial production methods on a large scale, the application of scientific methods, and the exercise of initiative by workers in agriculture (see ch. 11, Agriculture and Industry).

The five-year plan itself, including specific targets for all economic sectors and their various branches, for state enterprises, and for the local economy remained to be formulated in line with the directives. The Central Committee of the KSC had been instructed to ensure the completion of this task long enough before the end of 1971 to enable enterprises to develop their annual draft plan proposals for 1972 on the basis of the five-year plan. It was obvious that a basic weakness of the traditional planning system had not been overcome, namely, the long delays in completing and publishing the plans.

At the very best, if the prescribed timetable were met, the five-year plan would be made known to enterprises almost a year late. Considering the immense complexity of the planning process, which had frustrated planners and planning in the past, and also the fact that most prerequisites for effective planning—such as a rational price system, improved planning techniques, and better organization and management—were still to be developed under the plan, a period of a

few months could hardly be considered adequate for the formulation of the detailed plan.

BUDGET AND TAXATION

The Budget

The budget is the main financial tool for promoting the government's economic policies and for directing the national economy. It provides the financial framework for the annual economic plans and serves as a vehicle for the allocation of national resources. The budget is also the main channel for transferring resources to the Slovak republic under a program intended to reduce its economic lag.

Available information on budgetary procedures is fragmentary. The same is true for the size and composition of the annual budgets after 1968, when various changes in procedures took place in connection with the creation of the Czech and Slovak republics and with the subsequent economic counterreform. Analysis of budgetary expenditure trends is hampered by frequent changes in prices and the consequent lack of comparable data.

Budgetary Process

As of January 1, 1969, the previously consolidated budget of the central government and the regions was replaced by a budget composed of three interrelated parts—a federal budget and a budget for each of the constituent republics. An additional law was passed, effective January 1, 1971, to provide for uniformity in the structure of the three budgets, in the regulations applicable to expenditures, and in budgetary administration. In effect, the new law established the primacy of the federal budget and of the central budgetary authority.

The relevant sections of the law bearing on the relationship between the federal budget and the budgets of the republics appear to be contradictory. According to section two of the law, the federal Ministry of Finance, in cooperation with the ministries of finance of the republics, prepares a tentative budget estimate and a draft of the principles governing the fiscal policy for the entire federation and submits these draft proposals to the federal government, which discusses them with the governments of the republics. The approved tentative budget estimate determines the relationship between the budgets of the federation and the republics.

The finance ministries of the republics prepare their own respective budget estimates and, in cooperation with the federal ministry, also prepare tentative budget estimates for individual regions. The budget section explicitly states that the budgets of the federation and the republics are prepared and discussed simultaneously, even though the budgets of the republics may be approved only after passage of the

federal budget. Enactment of the budget requires approval by the National Assembly.

Section nine of the same law, however, which concerns the submission of the federal budget to the government for approval, states unambiguously that the approved and detailed federal budget serves as a guideline for preparing draft budgets not only for federal agencies but also for the republics. Evidence on the procedures actually followed in the preparation of the budgets is lacking.

Revenues and Expenditures

Total budget revenue increased by almost 52 percent in the 1965-69 period, reaching a volume of Kč184.4 billion. Expenditures during this period rose by almost 46 percent to a total of Kč176.9 billion. Both revenues and expenditures were somewhat lower in 1967 and 1968 than they had been in 1966. This decline appears to be a consequence of the transition to partial self-financing by enterprises under the economic reform and the related reduction in the flow of funds through the budget. Except for 1966 the budget was either balanced or in surplus; a surplus of almost Kč11 billion was accumulated during the five-year period, including Kč7.5 billion in 1969 alone. The surplus reflected the government's anti-inflationary fiscal policy.

Information on the 1970 budget was limited to summary planned income and expenditure data for the Czech and Slovak republics; data on the federal budget were lacking. The planned Czech budget was balanced at Kč94.5 billion. Eighty-eight percent of the income was to be derived from the socialized economy; about 10 percent, from taxes and other charges levied against the population; and about 1 percent each, from the federal budget and other sources. The major items of expenditure included about 32 percent for organizations under the jurisdiction of the republic, 36 percent for social and cultural affairs, and 29 percent for grants and subsidies to local governments.

Actual budgetary operations in 1970 were reported to have resulted in a surplus. The Czech budget for 1971 was planned to be balanced at Kč97.5 billion.

The planned 1970 budget for the Slovak republic reflected the relatively less developed state of that republic. Income and outlays were balanced at about Kč45.8 billion. Receipts from the economy were set at 58 percent—30 percent lower than the figure in the Czech budget. Grants and subsidies from the federal budget, by contrast, constituted fully one-third of total budgeted income, compared to only 1 percent in the Czech budget. Levies on the population were expected to yield less than 7 percent; and other receipts, less than 2 percent total revenues.

Revenues have been regularly reported under three highly aggregated categories: from the socialist economy, from the

population, and from other revenues. In 1969 a fourth revenue category was added, which was known as the "levy on the redistribution between trusts and the Czech Socialist Republic." Information on the nature of this category is lacking; it amounted to less than 1 percent of budgetary receipts. In the 1965-69 period, revenues from the economy accounted for 80 to 86 percent of total revenues, and receipts from the population contributed from 10 to 13 percent. Other revenue was derived from customs duties on imports and exports, legal and administrative fees, fines, and properties acquired by gift or confiscation.

Expenditures have been reported under four headings: financing the economy, social and cultural activities, defense and security, and administration. In the 1965-69 period the proportion of the last two groups of expenditures in the total remained fairly stable at about 8 percent and 2 percent, respectively. The share of the outlays for social and cultural purposes, however, was officially reported to have increased from 40 to 45 percent at the expense of outlays for the economy, which declined from 49 to 45 percent. There is no evidence readily at hand to indicate the extent to which the reported shift is attributable to the change in financing industry under the economic reform or to price changes.

Funds earmarked for financing the socialized economy included at least three different categories: funds transferred to enterprises and organizations engaged in production, funds to support the operations of organizations providing economic services, and funds for the formation of reserves. Funds transferred to enterprises included allocations for fixed and working capital subsidies to cover operating losses, and price subsidies to enterprises whose selling prices were fixed below the cost of production.

Allocation of funds from the budget for capital purposes appears to have declined because of the transition, at least in part, to the financing of these outlays by the enterprises themselves out of their own resources and with bank credits. Although price changes may obscure the actual situation, a decline in the importance of capital allocations is suggested by the drop in the share of investment from 24.6 percent of total budgetary expenditures in 1965 to 18 percent in the 1966-68 period and 17 percent in 1969.

Price subsidies constituted an important element of budgetary expenditures; they were paid mainly to keep consumer prices low. About 60 percent of enterprises surveyed in 1969 were receiving subsidies, and only 19 percent of these anticipated their elimination in 1970. Most of the Kč33 billion subsidy in 1969 was paid outside industry. Much of it went to agriculture because farm prices set by the government covered only about 80 percent of costs on the average. The wholesale price rollback of January 1970 and the retail price reduction of May 1971 implied a rise in the volume of subsidies.

Czech officials estimated that, under the best circumstances, at most one-fourth to one-third of the subsidies could be eliminated without raising prices and that the elimination of the remainder would involve politically unacceptable price increases.

Taxation

Under the impact of the economic reform and counterreform the system of taxation applied to enterprises and organizations underwent major changes, so that the tax structure in 1971 was complex. The latest tax system, introduced at the beginning of 1970, affected only state industrial and construction enterprises, foreign trade organizations, and joint-stock companies. Nonindustrial and local enterprises, including those in trade and transportation, remained subject to the pre-1970 tax system, which was based on gross income and relied heavily on a turnover tax levied predominantly on consumer goods. The status of this tax in the new system is not known.

The new taxes imposed in 1970 included a proportional profits tax a property tax, and a progressive tax on the total wage bill. All enterprises and organizations were also subject to a 25 percent social security payroll tax. According to official sources the basic objectives of the new tax system were: to help regulate and stabilize economic activity through the medium of profits; to balance the interests of enterprises and society; equalize the tax burden among enterprises; to stimulate a more effective use of resources and more rational investment policies; to secure a rise in budgetary revenues commensurate with economic growth; and to simplify the tax system.

The tax rate on profits was originally set at 65 percent for all state enterprises, with the exception of certain corporate financial institutions that were subject to a tax of 85 percent. An amendment to the tax law passed in November 1970 reduced the profit tax rate to 40 percent for enterprises producing building materials and enterprises in the food processing industry, 50 percent for enterprises engaged in the generation and transmission of electric power and heat, and 60 percent for fuel and ore mining enterprises and for enterprises engaged in the production, distribution and storage of fuel gas.

The tax rate on enterprise property was set at 5 percent; in December 1970 it was reduced to 2 percent for certain types of enterprise, including spas, the Czechoslovak Maritime Shipping Company, and the Brno Fairs and Exhibitions Organization. The tax was based on the average annual value of the assets, including fixed assets, inventories, and other forms of working capital. Fixed assets used for nonproductive purposes, such as housing, health care, cultural activities, and workers' health and safety protection, were

excluded from the tax base. Certain working capital items, such as supplies used for civil defense or for special government assignments, were also exempt from taxation. The evaluation of assets presented serious problems to assessors; it was the cause of continuing debate and of several tax amendments. A satisfactory solution had not been found by 1971.

The progressive payroll tax was intended to stimulate a more efficient use of labor resources. It was also meant to serve as a mechanism for controlling the growth of workers' income, and its level depended on the growth in average wages within the enterprise. Information on the application of the tax and on the schedule of tax rates is lacking.

The new tax law provided for selective application of the various enterprise taxes. It cited numerous circumstances under which one or more of the taxes could be partially or entirely remitted. Tax authorities estimated that the permissible tax rebates in 1970 would range between Kč2 billion and Kč3 billion. The law also authorized experimentation with a progressive profits tax and with other forms of wage taxation in individual enterprises and economic sectors.

Czechoslovak economists estimated the tax burden placed on the average enterprise by the new system of taxation at about 70 percent of earnings. They considered this tax level to be about as high as enterprises could bear but justified the high tax and the selectivity with which taxes were imposed on individual enterprises by a need to redistribute resources, as a means for effective economic management by the state, and as a measure for restricting the growth of disposable funds in the fight against inflation.

Taxes on the population included: a progressive wage tax on wages paid in cash and in kind, subject to certain exemptions; a tax on independent farmers, levied in accordance with the size and environmental condition of the individual farm; a tax on income from scholarly and artistic activity, assessed on the same basis as the wage tax but subject to additional deductions for expenses peculiar to the activity; and a tax on other personal income, applicable mainly to self-employed tradesmen, professional personnel, and annuitants and limited to a maximum of 85 percent of the taxpayer's net income.

Other taxes on the population included a house tax on privately owned dwellings and related properties; a special income tax on old age, disability, and other pensions exceeding a stated amount per month (Kč700 in 1965), with a maximum rate of 12.5 percent; and a motor vehicle tax.

Statistics on tax revenues under the new tax system in 1970 were not available. In 1969 about 63 percent of the tax income was derived from the turnover tax; and 29 percent, from payroll and wage taxes. Taxes on agriculture and on the income of cooperatives yielded

another 5 percent. The balance of 3 percent was accounted for by miscellaneous direct taxes.

BANKING AND CURRENCY

Banking

The banking system operative in mid-1971 was established on January 1 of that year through a realignment of the functions of previously existing financial institutions. The main purpose of the reorganization was to recentralize control over financial operations in line with the general trend of the economic counterreform. Only a bare outline of the new system is available, and little is known about its actual functioning.

Banking Institutions

The number of banking institutions is small. The system includes: the Czechoslovak State Bank, the Czechoslovak Commercial Bank, the Small Business Bank, and the State Savings Bank. All of these banks have subordinate branches.

The State Bank, created in 1950 and reorganized several times thereafter, is the country's central bank of issue, but it also functions as a banker for the state, a commercial and investment bank for all branches of the economy, and an organ of the state's foreign exchange monopoly. Through its credit and investment financing operations the State Bank reaches all enterprises and economic organizations, and it uses its creditor role to check upon and control their operations, particularly in the areas of investment, management, wages, and the use of foreign exchange. Relations with foreign trade organizations are maintained through the Commercial Bank, which is responsible for foreign trade financing under the direction of the State Bank.

The State Bank plays a major role in developing monetary, credit, and foreign exchange policies in cooperation with the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Foreign Trade. In consultation with these ministries and with the ministries of finance of the Czech and Slovak republics, the bank also has broad authority to issue binding regulations in all areas of its jurisdiction. Available information sheds insufficient light on the division of authority in matters of policy between the State Bank and the Ministry of Finance or on the relative power of the two state organs; it suggests that the competence of the Ministry of Finance lies primarily in the area of the state budget.

One of the main responsibilities of the State Bank is the preparation of comprehensive annual financial plans based on the economic plans, which are formulated largely in physical terms. The financial plan, which is subject to approval by the government,

comprises three parts: a cash plan, a credit plan, and a foreign exchange plan. It is supposed to determine all financial flows throughout the economy, including the state budget and the budgets of the republics and localities; adherence to it is mandatory for all enterprises, organizations, and government agencies.

The State Bank consists of a central office located in Prague, one central institute each for the two constituent republics, located in Prague and Bratislava, respectively, and about 115 branch offices. The bank is under the direction of a chairman appointed by the president on recommendation of the government. A vice chairman appointed by the government on recommendation of the chairman acts as the chairman's deputy. The chairman and vice chairman may not be citizens of the same constituent republic. The central institutes are in charge of general directors, who are also vice chairmen of the bank and who are appointed in the same manner as the deputy chairman, after discussion with the governments of the republics.

The Commercial Bank was established as a joint stock company on January 1, 1965, with a basic capital of Kč500,000 subscribed by foreign trade, financial, and cooperative enterprises. In 1971 it had at least sixty-six institutional stockholders, the number reported to have participated in the sixth annual stockholders' meeting. The main function of the bank is to provide banking services for enterprises and organizations engaged in foreign trade. It also conducts research on international trade for the benefit of its clients and for policymaking purposes and participates in the drafting and execution of foreign trade plans.

Policies and Operation

To counter the strong inflationary trend of the 1968-69 period and to reduce the volume of new construction starts, the bank adopted a tighter credit policy in 1970 and simultaneously raised interest rates on most loans. As a further credit control measure, the bank revoked the right granted to enterprises under the economic reform to make interenterprise loans. The volume of working capital loans made by the bank declined by Kč10 billion in 1970 from the level of the preceding year and, according to plan, would barely regain the 1968 volume in 1971. Investment loans and credits continued to expand, but at a slower pace—not only in percentage terms but also in absolute amounts. Compared with increases of Kč16 billion in 1968 and Kč17 billion in 1969, the rise in investment loans and credits attained in 1970 and planned for 1971 was less than Kč10 billion.

Investment credits are granted for periods of three to seven years for projects that are included in the economic plan and that meet government-stipulated criteria of effectiveness. Generally, the bank credit is limited to about half the budgeted cost of the project. Beginning in 1970, credits for projects valued at less than Kč3 million

have been granted only in cases where the credits can be repaid within three years. With the introduction of the new enterprise tax system at the beginning of 1970, the bank established differential rates of interest for enterprises subject to the new and to the old tax laws. Interest rates of 8 to 10 percent on all outstanding and new loans were applied to the former, and the previously effective rates of 6 to 7.5 percent were continued for the latter.

Working capital loans and other short-term loans for specific purposes, such as inventory, accounts receivable, bills payable, and payroll loans, were granted by the bank at rates varying from 3.5 to 15 percent in 1970 and 1971. As in the case of investment loans, a distinction was made between enterprises operating under the different systems of taxation. Loans for the repayment of foreign debts and loans to enterprises newly embarking on the production of consumer goods carried preferential interest rates.

Savings deposits continued to rise steeply and were planned to reach a volume of Kč71.5 billion by the end of 1971, as against Kč45.2 billion five years earlier. The government endeavored to reduce the inflationary pressure generated by the rising volume of savings, at least partially, through stricter controls over wages and an improvement in the supply of consumer goods.

Currency

The currency unit of the country, the koruna (Kč), is divided into 100 haléř (see Glossary). It is nonconvertible and usable only within the country. Officially the koruna is defined to contain 123.426 milligrams of fine gold, which is equivalent to slightly less than US\$0.14. In addition to the basic rate, a variety of other official exchange rates ranging from Kč670 to Kč36 per US\$1 were in effect in 1970 for specific transactions, such as tourist expenditures by residents of Western and communist states, support payments received from residents abroad, and hard currencies purchased by residents for travel abroad. A rate of Kč60 to Kč70 per US\$1 applied to the so-called *tuzex* koruna that was issued in the form of a bearer certificate in exchange for old gold, hard currencies, or remittances from abroad and that entitled the bearer to purchase at special state stores imported products and domestic products in short supply.

Severe restrictions apply to the transfer of money or valuables by individuals and to travel in the West, particularly since the Soviet-led invasion of the country in 1968. Liberal soft currency allocations, however, are granted for travel in other communist states. Residents are barred from owning or trading in gold and from exporting precious metals, precious stones, pearls, and unused postage stamps. Also, they are not allowed to own foreign currencies or bank balances abroad, to trade in foreign securities, or to export and import national

banknotes. Individuals may not engage in foreign trade because this activity is subject to a state monopoly. All foreign currency receipts must be declared to the authorities.

The volume of currency in circulation at the end of the year increased from Kč13.1 billion in 1967 to Kč17.3 billion in 1969 and Kč17.8 billion in 1970; it was planned to rise to Kč18.9 billion in 1971. The expansion of currency circulation was deliberately restrained after 1969 as one of the means for containing inflation, along with fiscal measures and credit restriction.

FOREIGN TRADE

As a developed industrial state with a limited raw materials base and a relatively small domestic market, the country is heavily dependent upon foreign trade for economic growth. The structure and direction of the trade have been determined mainly by political considerations, particularly by the Soviet-imposed policy of orienting foreign trade toward supplying the needs of COMECON members, including primarily the Soviet Union itself, and of the developing countries under Soviet influence. This policy has operated to the disadvantage of the domestic economy by depriving it of the opportunity for hard currency earnings through trade with Western countries and, thus, of the means to import technologically advanced machinery urgently needed to make industry competitive.

Organization

Foreign trade constitutes a state monopoly under the direction of the Ministry of Foreign Trade. The ministry is responsible for developing and carrying out a national foreign trade policy, subject to government approval, and is authorized to enter into international commercial agreements based on principles approved by the government. In cooperation with other federal organs and the trade ministries of the republics, the ministry drafts foreign trade plans within the framework of the national economic plans and submits them to the State Planning Commission for approval.

The Ministry of Foreign Trade has power to establish and abolish foreign trade organizations and to define the extent of their authority; it may also grant and withdraw permission for foreign firms to be represented in the country. It has jurisdiction over tariff policy, tariff rates, and the operation of the central customs administration, and it directs the work of the commercial sections of the country's diplomatic missions.

Foreign trade operations, including the export and import of various services, are conducted primarily by specialized foreign trade

corporations and by a group of joint-stock companies formed under the economic reform and composed of enterprises and organizations in the same or related fields of activity. In addition, a number of manufacturing enterprises and other organizations were licensed under the reform to engage in foreign trade directly, rather than through the specialized organizations. Many of these licensees, including such diverse organizations as publishing houses, agricultural and industrial project design institutes, breeders of laboratory animals, and the Czechoslovak Union of Women, were outside the jurisdiction of the federal Ministry of Foreign Trade. In 1969 there were sixteen foreign trade corporations, twelve or thirteen joint-stock companies, and between thirty and forty other authorized organizations.

The ministry has sole responsibility for allocating planned exports and imports to subordinate foreign trade organizations over which it has direct jurisdiction. Trade operations of enterprises outside its jurisdiction are controlled by the ministry through the foreign trade plan and financial instruments. The financial levers include foreign currency controls exercised jointly with the State Bank, domestic price equalization exchange rates, which vary from the official rate of exchange, subsidies and discounts on exports depending upon the destination and type of product, varying tax privileges and penalties, and differential rates of interest on funds used in foreign trade operations.

Adequate information on the extent of the decisionmaking powers of foreign trade organizations is not available. An article in the May 1970 English-language issue of the official organ of the Czechoslovak Chamber of Commerce contained the following statement on the subject: "The Czechoslovak foreign trade organizations will proceed even in the future independently according to their economic and commercial deliberations within the scope of their autonomous authority which is limited as regards their decisions by the central authorities."

Volume and Direction of Foreign Trade

The trade turnover in the decade of the 1960s increased by about 77 percent in terms of value and reached Kč47.6 billion in 1969. Preliminary data for 1970 indicated a turnover of Kč55.1 billion. The increase was roughly equal for imports and exports through 1967; in the next two years imports rose much more rapidly than exports, after relaxation of central controls under the reform, so that the respective rates of increase for the entire decade were about 81 and 72 percent. Official data on the rise in the physical trade volume, which take account of price changes, were about 10 percent higher for both imports and exports. In 1970 the trend of the 1968-69 period was

reversed, with imports rising by 12.2 percent and exports by 14.2 percent.

The regional pattern of trade remained quite stable, although the share of noncommunist industrial states in the total trade volume increased by 3.5 percent after 1964 at the expense of a 2.6 percent reduction in the share of the communist states and of a less than 1 percent decline in the share of the developing countries. Because of price changes, it is uncertain to what extent the minor annual fluctuations reflect actual changes in physical volume. The respective shares of the three groups of countries in the 1969 trade volume were: communist states, 70.6 percent; advanced industrial states, 21.3 percent; and developing nations, 8.1 percent.

The stability of the trade pattern has been ensured through long-term agreements with COMECON partners and with a number of other countries. Agreements with COMECON members usually run for five-year periods coinciding with the terms of the five-year plans. Long-term agreements for periods of three to five years outside the COMECON camp were concluded with Albania, Yugoslavia, the Benelux group, France, and the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany).

The Soviet Union has been the country's most important trading partner, with a share in the total trade turnover ranging from 33.5 to 39 percent in the 1960s. The trade volume with the Soviet Union reached Kč17.6 billion in 1970 and was planned to rise to Kč18.4 billion in 1971. The German Democratic Republic (East Germany) and Poland ranked second and third as trading partners, with trade volumes of Kč5.6 billion and Kč3.7 billion, respectively, in 1969. Hungary and Romania were of lesser importance, although the trade with each of these countries exceeded in volume that with any of the remaining trading partners other than West Germany.

West Germany was the major trading partner among the industrially developed noncommunist nations throughout the 1960s; its share in that group's total trade ranged between 16 and 19 percent to 1968 and rose to 23.3 percent in 1969. In terms of value, the trade of Kč2.4 billion with West Germany in 1969 equaled that with Hungary. Great Britain and Austria were next in importance among noncommunist states. Trade with Great Britain amounted to Kč1 billion or a little more annually after 1963; the annual trade turnover with Austria rose from Kč0.5 billion in 1964 to Kč1.2 billion in 1969.

Because of the restrictions imposed by the United States on trade with communist states, including the denial of most-favored-nation treatment, long-term credits, and Export-Import Bank financing, Czechoslovakia's trade with the United States has been at a very low level. In the year ended June 30, 1970, exports to the United States amounted to US\$24 million and imports to US\$19 million, equivalent to about Kč173 million and Kč137 million, respectively, at the official

rate of exchange. Trade with the United States thus accounted for only about 0.7 percent of the total trade turnover. Czechoslovakia's leadership is eager to have the trade restrictions removed, so as to enable it to increase exports; to buy advanced machinery and equipment, licenses, and technological processes; and to obtain long-term commercial credits for the purchase of entire industrial plants. In 1969 the authorities considered as unpromising any prospects for the development of trade with the United States.

The Middle East, India, and Communist China accounted for the bulk of the trade with developing countries. Trade with India and Communist China amounted to Kč589 million and Kč420 million, respectively, in 1969. For countries of the Middle East, published information for that year is available only on trade with Iraq; it amounted to Kč706 million.

Composition of Foreign Trade

Raw and semiprocessed materials, including fuels, followed by machinery and equipment, constituted the main import categories. From 1960 to 1970 the proportion of materials in annual imports declined from 53 to 43 percent and that of machinery and equipment rose from about 22 to 33 percent. Foodstuffs and manufactured consumer goods completed the list of imports, except for occasional importation of livestock for breeding purposes. The relative importance of the two consumer categories shifted from 22 and 3.3 percent of imports, respectively, in 1960 to about 15 and 8.5 percent in 1970.

Machinery and equipment constituted by far the most important category of exports; their share in the annual export volume rose from 45 to more than 50 percent in the 1960-70 period. Fuels and materials accounted for 28 to 30 percent of exports. The proportion of manufactured consumer goods in annual exports during the period declined from about 20 to 16 percent, and the share of foodstuffs remained at about 4 to 5 percent.

In the trade with the Soviet Union in 1969 the proportion of fuels and materials in imports virtually equaled that of machinery and equipment in exports—61 and 61.6 percent, respectively. Fuel and material imports included crude oil and oil products, iron and manganese ores, ferrous and nonferrous metals, wheat, cotton, and fats and oils. Crude oil was by far the most important single import item; it accounted for more than 14 percent of imports. Machinery exports included metalworking equipment and machine tools; equipment for steel rolling mills, chemical plants, and oil refineries; as well as equipment for textile and leather processing, and food processing plants. They also included electric and diesel locomotives,

street cars, trucks, and motorcycles. Delivery of several large breweries was scheduled to begin in the second half of 1971.

Similarly, exports of coal and coke, minerals, processed materials, and manufactured consumer goods—totaling about 37 percent of the export volume—offset imports of machinery and foodstuffs, and insignificant exports of food products balanced imports of consumer goods. Consumer goods exports consisted primarily of footwear, ready-to-wear clothing, woolens and other textile materials, knitwear, hosiery, costume jewelry, furniture, and medical supplies. Consumer goods imports consisted mainly of color television sets, radios, watches, and miscellaneous household appliances. Imported machinery included metalworking equipment and machine tools different from those exported, passenger cars, tractors, agricultural machinery, commercial aircraft, helicopters, and computers.

The country's dependence upon the Soviet Union as a supplier of raw materials and a market for manufactured products is illustrated by data for 1968 published by the Czechoslovak Chamber of Commerce. In that year, imports of individual commodities from the Soviet Union ranged from 100 percent of total imports for crude oil to 24 percent for meat. At the same time the Soviet Union absorbed from 16 to 87 percent of individual export items.

Balance of Trade

According to official statistics, the foreign trade balance was positive in every year of the 1960-70 period with the exception of 1968. The accumulated trade surplus amounted to Kč8.4 billion, or almost one-third of the import value in 1970. In the 1960-69 period the trade surplus totaled more than Kč6.4 billion. This amount included positive balances of Kč4.4 billion with communist states and Kč4.5 billion with developing countries and a negative balance of Kč2.5 billion with Western industrial states.

Within the communist group, the trade balance with the Soviet Union was positive in all years except 1968; the cumulative total reached almost Kč2.7 billion in 1969. A surplus of nearly Kč1.7 billion accumulated with other COMECON members through 1967 was reduced to a deficit of Kč0.4 billion in the next two years by a large rise in imports; the deficit grew further in 1970. Trade with other communist countries yielded a surplus in seven of the ten years; an adequate country breakdown of the accumulated Kč2.2 billion surplus is not available.

The trade balance with the developing nations was consistently positive. The balance with Western industrial states, on the other hand, was negative, except for minor surpluses in 1963 and 1967.

Balance of payments data have not been published since 1947, so that adequate information on the manner of settling trade and

payments balances is not available. In the trade with COMECON partners, balances are settled through bilateral clearing accounts in Soviet ruble prices. Because of the severe shortage of gold and convertible foreign currencies, deficits must be covered through additional shipment of goods. This method is also used at times to settle balances arising from transactions other than commodity trade. In 1968, for instance, Czechoslovakia agreed to receive from East Germany additional shipments worth Kč21. million in payment for the East German clearing debt, even though its own balance of commodity trade with East Germany was consistently in deficit.

The persistent, large trade surplus with the Soviet Union and unrequited exports to the Middle East and other developing areas at the behest of the Soviet Union constituted a severe financial burden on the economy. Whereas Czechoslovakia had to pay 8 percent interest on supplier credit from West Germany and even higher rates to other Western creditors, its credit balance in the COMECON clearing account earned no interest at all or, under certain conditions, only about 1.5 percent. The trade surplus also contributed to inflationary pressures by reducing supplies for the domestic market.

In relation to the West the country's balance of payments deficit was officially placed at US\$400 million in 1968. At the same time, the government was seeking to obtain foreign hard currency loans of US\$500 million to help modernize the economy through imports of technologically advanced machinery and equipment. Soviet intervention, however, effectively inhibited the establishment of closer financial and trade relations with the West.

CHAPTER 11

AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY

In 1971 and throughout the preceding decade agriculture and industry were unable to meet the requirements of the population for food and for manufactured consumer goods. Both of these basic economic sectors suffered from inefficient management, an inadequate labor input, and insufficient or misdirected investment; industry also had to contend with a dearth of indigenous material and power resources.

Official plans for the 1971-75 period call for a substantial advance in the productive efficiency of the two sectors through structural changes, modernization, and more intensive use of available resources. The announced program makes the attainment of its ultimate goals dependent upon qualitative improvements in all aspects of economic activity and massive imports of raw materials from the Soviet Union. It was officially presented as a set of exacting tasks, the fulfillment of which requires a determined and concentrated effort on the part of the entire society. At the same time, however, observers have reported that the population at large, but more particularly the workers, expressed feelings of disaffection and apathy.

AGRICULTURE

In 1969, the last year for which official statistics are available, agriculture employed 16 percent of the labor force, received 11 percent of investments, and produced about 12 percent of the national income (see ch. 10, Character and Structure of the Economy). Farm output remained inadequate for domestic needs and covered only about 80 percent of the basic food consumption. The shortages were most pronounced in meats, dairy products, fruits, and vegetables. The situation did not change materially in the subsequent two years. Substantial quantities of raw and processed farm products had to be imported for human and livestock consumption.

Agriculture has suffered from a chronic and growing labor shortage, which has not been adequately compensated by technological advances in production methods. Significant structural and technological improvements are required to counteract the continuing manpower drain and the deteriorating age and sex structure of the

farm labor force. It is generally recognized, however, that progress in agriculture is primarily dependent on the provision of greater incentives for the farming population.

Climate and Soils

The topography and climate favor a diversified agriculture. The soils are generally suitable for the cultivation of a wide variety of crops; the predominant soil type is a medium sandy loam. The climate is a blend between the maritime climate of Western Europe and the continental climate farther to the east. Summers are normally cool; the mean July temperature seldom rises above 68° F. Winters are usually mild, with a mean daily temperature of 28° F.

Precipitation is generally sufficient throughout the country; it averages about thirty-four inches annually at the higher elevations and twenty-four inches in the lower regions. Because of the diverse topography, however, both rainfall and temperature vary widely, depending upon the locality. Although most of the rainfall occurs during the period of plant growth, dry spells are common. Irrigation systems covering more than 185,000 hectares (1 hectare equals 2.47 acres—see Glossary) were therefore built in the 1960-69 period.

Land Use

In 1969 land classified as agricultural comprised 7.1 million hectares, or about 56 percent of the country's total area. Arable land constituted about 70 percent of the agricultural land; meadows and pastures accounted for 25 percent; orchards, vineyards, gardens, hop fields, and uncultivated land made up the balance of 5 percent. During the 1960s the area of agricultural land declined by 224,000 hectares, and the acreage of arable land, by 120,000 hectares through diversion to other uses. About 63 percent of the agricultural land, 66 percent of the arable land, and 53 percent of the meadows and pastures were located in the Czech republic.

Forests occupied an area of almost 4.5 million hectares in 1969, the equivalent of 35 percent of the country's land surface. Fifty-four thousand hectares were devoted to fish ponds.

Somewhat more than half the sown acreage in 1969 was under grains and legumes. That acreage had expanded by about 4 percent after 1960 to a total of 2.7 million hectares. The area under bread grains (wheat and rye) grew by 246,000 hectares to 1,329,000 hectares; wheat accounted for all but 275,000 hectares of this acreage. Whereas the wheat acreage had expanded by about 62 percent after 1960, the rye acreage had declined by 64 percent. This shift reflected a growing popular demand for wheat bread and a preferential government price for wheat.

The total acreage of feed grains declined by 100,000 hectares after 1960 to 1.3 million hectares in 1969, but the area devoted to barley expanded by 73,000 hectares to a total of 780,000 hectares. The 325,000 hectares under potatoes and 285,000 hectares under technical crops in 1969 reflected reductions of 43 percent and 29 percent, respectively, in these crop areas during the decade. A partial diversion of the land to grain production was brought about by the government's price policy. The main cause of the decline in the acreage of these labor-intensive crops, however, was a growing shortage of agricultural manpower coupled with an inadequate supply of labor-saving farm machinery.

Sugar beets constituted the principal industrial crop, with 64 percent of the industrial crop acreage in 1969. Flax, rapeseed, and poppies occupied 29 percent of that acreage. The balance was devoted to miscellaneous crops, including tobacco, peppers, sunflowers, mustard, chicory, and medicinal plants.

Red clover, alfalfa, and corn for green feed and silage were the major fodder crops. With a total area of more than 1 million hectares in 1969, they occupied 70 percent of the 1.6 million hectares of fodder crop acreage. Fodder root crops covered an area of 86,000 hectares. Whereas the acreage of root crops declined by 9 percent during the decade, that of green fodder crops rose by 10 percent. As in the case of technical crops, the decline in root crop acreage reflected the growing labor shortage.

The vegetable acreage remained remarkably steady during the decade and amounted to almost 42,700 hectares both in 1960 and 1969. The acreage of hops, an important export crop, rose to a high of 9,730 hectares in 1965 from 8,365 in 1960, then declined gradually to 9,440 in 1969. The area under vineyards increased steadily, growing by 27 percent over the decade to almost 31,000 hectares, of which 23,000 hectares were bearing fruit. The number of fruit trees increased by more than 5 percent to almost 52 million. The increase, however, was confined to apples, pears, and apricots. All other varieties of fruit trees and nuts suffered losses. Commercial fruitgrowing was of relatively little importance.

Organization

Collective Farms

Collective farms, officially called unified agricultural cooperatives, constitute the major form of agricultural organization. At the end of 1969 they occupied 60 percent of the country's 7.1 million hectares of farmland, including 4 percent allotted for the personal use of collective farmers. There were 6,327 collective farms with an average of 625 hectares of farmland and 137 members, 113 of whom were

permanent workers. The members' personal plots averaged less than half a hectare.

Collective farms are owned in common by their members. In theory, land is held by the collective in perpetuity; in actual practice it had been subject to redistribution by the government among individual collective farms, and a substantial acreage has been transferred to state ownership. Except for small numbers of livestock and tools, all herds, machinery, equipment, and farm buildings constitute collective property. Farm operations are carried out in common, under the direction of an elected administrative and management body. The governing body of the collective is responsible to the local government, through which it receives directives from central authorities regarding all aspects of the farm economy.

Collective farm members are paid in cash and in kind out of the farm's earnings. The members are residual claimants on the farm's income in that all collective debts and obligations must be satisfied before the remaining funds may be distributed to them. Aside from the payment of taxes, provision must be made for various reserve funds, including funds for investment, depreciation, current operations, and educational, social, and cultural activities. The shares of individual farm members in a farm's annual income are determined by the amount and kind of work performed during the year rather than by the number of hours worked. The distribution of earnings is determined at the end of the year, but members receive a substantial portion of their estimated pay on account in the course of the year.

Earnings of members within a collective farm vary in relation to the level of their skill and the degree of their application to collective work. As between different farms, earnings of members for comparable work input vary, depending upon such physical factors as climate and soil fertility and upon the efficiency of the farm operations.

State Farms

The state agricultural sector accounted for 30 percent of the farmland at the end of 1969. It comprised 343 production farms with 69 percent of the state farmland, which averaged 4,200 hectares and 600 workers, including technical personnel and seasonal labor. More than 900 experimental, training, and central breeding farms with 27 percent of the state farmland and an average of 618 hectares were also included in the state sector. The remaining 4 percent of the state farmland was occupied by almost 36,000 subsidiary farms with an average of 2.4 hectares, operated by industrial enterprises and the armed forces.

State farm workers are government employees working for cash wages. The pay they receive is unrelated to the output or productivity of the farms.

State farms were expected to serve as models of efficient management and production. Yet they have lagged behind collective farms in productivity per hectare and per worker. Czechoslovak officials ascribed the inefficiency of state farms to the low pay of the workers and to their lack of a financial stake in the results of the farm operations. Additional reasons cited for the unsatisfactory conditions included the limited authority of farm managers hemmed in by red tape, poor management and poor working conditions, and instability of the landholdings owing to frequent shifts of acreages between farms.

In the 1960s there was a trend toward a smaller number and larger size of collective and state farms. The number of collective farms declined by almost 4,500, or 42 percent, mostly through consolidation but also through absorption of bankrupt collective farms by state farms. The average size of collective farms increased by almost half as a result of the consolidation. The number of state farms declined by 22, also through consolidation, and the average size of these farms rose by 1,090 hectares, or 35 percent. The large size of the farms contributed to difficulties of management.

Machine-Tractor Stations

The state agricultural sector also includes so-called machine-tractor stations; in 1969 there were 101 such stations employing more than 25,000 workers. The main function of the machine-tractor stations is to perform major machinery repairs for state and collective farms. They also provide such services as land improvement, tillage, crop spraying and dusting, harvesting, and transport. The price for their services is fixed by the government.

Private Farms

The private farm sector accounted for 10 percent of the agricultural land at the beginning of 1970. It consisted of more than 814,000 individual landholdings averaging less than 0.9 hectare of farmland. More than three-fourths of these holdings contained only 0.5 hectare or less.

Full-time private farmers numbered 147,000, of whom 108,000 were located in the Slovak republic. Most of the private farms were situated in the mountainous and submountainous regions of Slovakia and in eastern Moravia. The number of full-time private farmers had declined by 57 percent over a ten-year period.

Because of the urgent need to use all available land for the production of food, the reform government in 1968 allowed private farmers to purchase farm supplies and services at prices paid by collective farms. In the summer of 1970, however, in the context of the counterreform, this equality of treatment was made conditional upon obligatory delivery to state procurement agencies or to the food-

processing industry of farm products in an assortment and in quantities specified by local government agencies. Under the new regulation, farmers were entitled to purchase supplies and equipment at wholesale prices applicable to collective farms up to 40 percent of the value of products contracted for delivery. The definition of private farmer was also made more restrictive so as to eliminate both the larger sized and the smallest farm units.

In the Slovak republic, where there were still about 483 villages in which only private farmers tilled the land, the party and government were making plans in the spring of 1971 to socialize a portion of the remaining private farms. Their main concern was to complete collectivization in those areas in which collective or state farms already existed. Roughly 77,000 hectares of farmland were reported to have been partially collectivized, and another 80,000 hectares were to be incorporated into collective or state farms. The affected acreage constituted more than one-third of the remaining private farmland in the republic.

Farm Labor

In 1969 there were 1,132,000 persons permanently active in agriculture—225,000 fewer than in 1960. About 24 percent worked in the state sector, including 16 percent on state farms; about 63 percent worked on collective farms; full-time private farmers accounted for the remaining 13 percent. In the decade of the 1960s the number of private farmers and of persons working on collective farms declined by 43 and 20 percent, respectively, whereas employment in the state sector increased by 20 percent, mainly by absorbing collective-farm workers. In absolute numbers, collective farms lost 160,000 workers, and the state sector gained 144,000 persons. The private farm sector suffered a loss of 109,000 full-time farmers.

Women constituted half of all the permanently employed persons in agriculture and on collective farms; they accounted for fully two-thirds of the private farmers. In the state sector the proportion of women was less than the average—about 43 percent.

The age distribution of permanent workers in agriculture was unfavorable, particularly in the private and collective farm sectors. In February 1970 only 35 percent of the workers were under forty years of age, while 27 percent were over the usual retirement age of workers outside agriculture (sixty years for men and fifty-three to fifty-seven years for women). The age distribution of workers on collective farms was roughly equivalent to that for agriculture as a whole; on private farms the proportion of farmers under forty years of age was less than 19 percent, and that of overage persons, 45 percent. The state agricultural sector, with almost 50 percent of its workers under forty years of age, had the most favorable age distribution, but even in this

sector 14 percent of the permanent workers were above the retirement age.

The decline in the agricultural labor force was caused by a drift from the land into industry and other occupations and by a reduction in the natural increase of the shrinking and aging farm population. It was aggravated by the difficulty of attracting young workers into agriculture and was not sufficiently compensated for by increased mechanization. The unfavorable age and sex structure has contributed to the low productivity of the farm labor force—estimated at roughly one-third to one-half the productivity in industry—because of the lower physical fitness of many older workers and their inability to handle modern farm machinery. In the private sector the inability to retain or recruit younger workers resulted in the abandonment of farms, particularly in the Slovak republic.

The main reasons for the drift of workers away from agriculture included relatively lower earnings, inferior social security retirement benefits for collective and private farmers, and generally poor working and living conditions in rural areas. Although the average wage of farmworkers in the state agricultural sector rose from 77 percent of the average industrial wage in 1960 to 96 percent in 1969, it remained 15 percent below the average pay in construction and 21 percent lower than the average wage in transportation. Comparable data for collective-farm workers are not available. In 1967 the earnings of these workers were 20 percent below the earnings of state-farm workers; in 1965 and 1966 they had been 26 percent lower. Villages have lagged behind urban areas in the quality of housing, medical care, education, and cultural amenities and in the supply of goods and services. In 1970 the income of farmers remained below the average wage of industrial workers.

To cope with the farm labor shortage, shock brigades of students and industrial workers have been extensively used to assist in the harvest. Harvesting with such labor has been more costly than harvesting with the farms' own resources. In the case of collective farms, the added cost must be borne by the farms and, ultimately, by its members because prices of farm produce are fixed by the government.

Another measure to ease the labor shortage was adopted in the spring of 1971. Regulations governing social security benefits were liberalized by raising the amount that retired workers may earn without incurring a reduction in their annuity payments. For the longer term, a draft program of rural development to 1980 was under discussion that would improve living conditions on the farms sufficiently to stem the rural exodus.

Mechanization

Mechanization of agriculture has been inadequate in relation to the limited availability of manpower. The situation was aggravated by a drastic decline in the annual supply of new machinery from the mid-1960s to 1969, despite the continuing loss of farm labor. The decline ranged from 29 to 80 percent for individual types of machinery, including a drop of 58 percent for wheeled tractors and 75 percent for crawler tractors. Acquisition of potato combines by agriculture ceased altogether in 1967, and data on potato planters and silage combines were reported to be too unreliable for publication in 1969; it was the first time since at least 1955 that such a statement was published regarding any item of farm machinery.

The main reason for reduced purchases of farm machinery by collective farms was a disproportionate rise of machinery prices in relation to prices for farm products. Reasons for the reduction in the supply of machinery to state farms by the government are not known. In 1970, after prices had been partially rolled back, another adverse factor became operative. In response to the drastic reduction in purchases during the preceding few years, some industrial capacity had been diverted from the manufacture of farm machinery to other uses. Since domestic production had never been sufficient to meet the needs of agriculture, the diversion of manufacturing capacity made the shortage more pronounced and increased the dependence on imports. In 1969 and 1970 industry was supplying only 50 percent of the requirements for beet and fodder harvesting equipment. The situation was reported to be even worse in the case of wheeled tractors, particularly of the heaviest types.

Much of the available farm machinery has been of poor quality or obsolete. At the end of 1969, 28 percent of all wheeled tractors were more than ten years old, and 47 percent of the tracklaying tractors were more than fifteen years old. The inventory of tractors was reported to be unsatisfactory in more than 60 percent of the collective farms and 80 percent of the state farms; there was a pronounced shortage of larger, more powerful, wheeled tractors. Mechanized equipment has not been available for mountainous regions, small private farms, and the livestock sector.

Domestic farm machinery was said to be inferior to Western products. Equipment imported from the Soviet Union was not always suitable for the farming conditions prevailing in the country and was reported to be inferior to East German equipment. A Czechoslovak agricultural journal observed that an East German grain harvester could do twice as much work with only one man and one-tenth of the harvesting loss as a comparable Soviet machine. The country's 13,000 Soviet harvesters, it said, could be replaced by 6,000 units of East German make.

Spare parts for farm machinery have always been in short supply and, as a result, a substantial portion of the machinery inventory has been out of commission. In the Slovak republic alone, after the 1971 harvest had already begun, about 700 harvesters could not be repaired for lack of spare parts, and at least a quarter of the tractors were idle because they lacked parts and tires. Overall, from 25 to 30 percent of major harvesting equipment had not been repaired in time for the harvest. In the Czech republic 1,800 harvesters were awaiting repair.

Inadequate mechanization has been an important factor in the acreage reduction of such labor-intensive crops as potatoes and sugar beets and in the slow development of livestock production. A serious shortage of grain-drying and proper storage facilities has caused substantial postharvest losses—20 percent of the grain was reported lost in 1970. In 1971 about 1.5 million tons of grain, or 30 percent of the crop, must be stored in makeshift temporary storage space. Construction of grain silos fell far short of plans. Whereas the government planned to build forty-one silos with a capacity of 854,000 tons in the Slovak republic in the 1965-70 period, only twelve silos with a capacity of 294,000 tons were actually completed. The situation was no better in the Czech republic, where a proportionately larger share of the harvested grain lacked adequate storage.

Official statistics on the distribution of farm machinery among the different types of agricultural enterprises at the end of 1969 are limited to the socialized sector. The quantities reported for state and collective farms and for machine-tractor stations do not add up to the total numbers in the inventory. The status of the unreported residue is unknown, nor is information available on the relative capacities and quality of the equipment in the three types of enterprise.

In terms of numbers of machines per hectare of farmland, collective farms were better equipped with all types of farm machinery than state farms. Although collective farms contained about twice as much land, both total and arable, as the state farms, they owned about three times as much machinery. This advantage did not necessarily extend to specialized equipment for all crops, such as beet and potato harvesters or grain combines, but in the case of grain threshers collective farms had 27 percent of the total number, compared to 10 percent on state farms. The machine-tractor stations held from 0.5 to 6 percent of the various kinds of machines, except for flax and grain combines, of which they had 14 and 16 percent, respectively.

Investment and Credit

Investment in agriculture during the 1960-69 period fluctuated between Kč7.2 billion (1 koruna equals US\$0.14 at the official rate of exchange—see Glossary) and Kč9.9 billion per year and averaged Kč8.6 billion in 1967 prices. Investment by collective farms declined

from 75 percent of the total in 1960 to 48 percent in 1968 and 52 percent in 1969. Two-thirds of the invested capital was devoted to construction, and the balance was used to supply machinery and equipment.

Credit to agriculture was provided by the state banking system on favorable terms. Maturities for investment loans were longer, and interest rates on investment and operating credits were lower than those granted to enterprises in other economic sectors. Farms had also been exempt from the general restriction on investment credit aimed at reducing the number of new construction starts, at least until 1970.

In 1969 investment loans to agricultural enterprises were granted for periods of up to sixteen years at 5 percent interest, compared with a maximum maturity of eight years at 6 to 7.5 percent for loans to industry. Loans for land improvement carried an interest charge of only 2 percent. Operating loans were subject to an interest charge of 3 percent, as against 6 to 8.5 percent for industry. The volume of operating credit to agriculture outstanding at the end of each year during the 1965-69 period averaged Kč5.3 billion. Investment loans granted to collective farms declined from Kč10 billion in 1963 to Kč6 billion in 1969.

Role of Government

The role of government in agriculture has been pervasive, but only fragmentary and not necessarily reliable information is at hand regarding such aspects of the government's current activities as planning, financing, procurement, price formulation, and enforcement of its decisions. There is insufficient evidence on the extent of the changes introduced by the economic reform effective January 1, 1967, and on subsequent modifications in the framework of the counterreform.

Under the reform regulations, government-imposed quantitative delivery quotas for individual farm products were replaced by annually negotiated contracts between the farms and state procurement agencies at prices fixed by the government. Provision was made for the free sale of output in excess of the contracted volume; this provision was still in effect in 1969, but its later status is unknown. Production targets were assigned to farms only in terms of the value of total output and of selected crops and livestock products, with the possible exception of grains, the targets for which may have continued to be given in physical terms. In 1970, however, in a drive to increase livestock production, farms were assigned binding targets for the number of sows, brood sows, and gilts they were to have by the end of the year.

Quantitative targets for the procurement of farm products continued to be set for individual regions by the annual state plans.

Shortfalls in the contracted volume of deliveries in relation to the regional plan were to be eliminated by regional officials through "pertinent measures." Whenever possible, discrepancies were to be resolved by the use of economic levers, but direct administrative measures, such as political persuasion and restoration of delivery quotas, were to be applied as a means of last resort.

The system of prices for agricultural commodities is complex. For each type and quality grade of farm produce the government establishes a fixed uniform basic purchase price, which may be augmented by various premiums or price supplements. The additional price increments apply only to marketed output; they are used to encourage improvements in quality and greater production of items in short supply, to offset the rise in the cost of farm perquisites, and to compensate for unfavorable natural production conditions, as in the case of farms in mountainous and submountainous regions. The type and magnitude of premiums and price supplements to be paid are announced annually at the beginning of the new production year. Delays in the announcement of new prices and the resultant uncertainty among farmers may cause losses in production and in the income of farmers.

Aside from income-enhancing subsidies, the government has also granted subsidies for investment and operating purposes and for a so-called "manpower stabilization fund" that apparently serves to provide added income as an incentive for farmers to remain on the farms. In 1969 subsidies for collective farms averaged Kč613 per hectare of agricultural land, including Kč457 in price subsidies and Kč156 in other types of subsidy. In the same year subsidies to state farms averaged Kč1,820 per hectare of farmland. The total amount of subsidies granted to agriculture in 1969 was Kč6 billion, more than two-thirds of which served to increase farm income directly.

The government recovered a portion of the farm subsidies through agricultural taxes. In 1969 taxes levied on collective farms were equivalent to 58 percent of the amount of the subsidy payments. Taxes on state farms, however, equaled only 8 percent of the subsidy volume. The total volume of taxes collected from agriculture amounted to Kč1.4 billion, leaving a net subsidy of Kč4.6 billion.

Production

The officially reported gross agricultural output, in which farm products such as livestock feeds that are used for further production are counted twice, amounted to Kč66.4 billion in 1969 (in terms of 1967 prices). Output in 1970 was reported to have increased by 1.3 percent. Two-thirds of the 1969 output was produced in the Czech republic. The output was almost evenly divided between crop and livestock products, with a difference of only 4 percent in favor of the

latter. Meat, grains, and milk accounted for 57 percent of total production.

The farm output, which had stagnated until 1965, rose by almost 24 percent in the 1966-68 period, mainly in response to unusually favorable weather conditions. In each of the next two years output rose by only 1.3 percent, and little change was indicated by preliminary reports in 1971. Marketable output constituted 48 percent of gross crop production and 74 percent of gross livestock production in 1969, compared to 36 percent and 72 percent, respectively, in 1965.

Crop Production and Yields

Official statistics on crop production in physical terms are ambiguous. The total output of a crop is calculated on the basis of the average yield per hectare and the acreage sown. No information is provided, however, on the method of estimating average yields.

Average yields per hectare were reported to be generally higher in the second half of the 1960's than yields in the first half. For the major crops the increases amounted to 19 percent for potatoes, 17 percent for wheat and sugar beets, and 15 percent for barley. The larger yields resulted from favorable weather conditions in the 1966-68 period and a steady growth in the use of fertilizers that more than doubled over the decade. Credit for the improvement was also given to increased incentives for farmers as a result of the liberalization of state procurement methods under the reform government. Yields of major crops were lower in 1970 with the possible exception of sugar beets (see table 5).

The generally higher yields per hectare in the 1965-69 period did not result in proportionately larger production for all crops because of changes in crop acreages. The average annual production of wheat increased by almost 57 percent, and that of barley, by more than 17 percent; but the output of bread grains rose by less than 31 percent, and that of feed grains, by less than 5 percent. The production of potatoes and sugar beets actually declined by about 8 percent and 4 percent, respectively (see table 6). The potato crop of 1970 was said to be the second lowest in the country's history—less than half the output level in 1936. The increase in grain production did not reduce import requirements for food and feed.

Livestock and Livestock Products

The numbers of cattle, hogs, and hens were lower at the beginning of 1970 than they had been ten years earlier. The total number of poultry, however, was larger, as was also the number of sheep and goats (see table 7). The reduction in the size of the cattle herd began in 1962, when it became more profitable to raise sheep than to produce milk; the number of hogs declined after 1965. The greatest decline occurred in the personal holdings of collective farmers and in

Table 6. Yields of Major Crops of Czechoslovakia, Selected Years, 1960-69¹
 (in hundreds of kilograms per hectare)²

Crop	1960	1965	1967	1968	1969	Average 1966-68
Wheat	23.3	24.2	27.1	31.6	31.0	28.1
Rye and rye-wheat mixture	20.8	19.8	21.6	22.8	24.9	21.6
Barley	24.8	21.4	27.3	29.8	32.1	27.0
Oats and oats-barley mixture	20.4	17.2	22.3	21.4	24.2	20.9
Corn	30.5	27.5	30.8	33.8	39.9	32.7
Edible pulses	11.2	13.4	14.5	8.8	13.3	12.4
Potatoes	90.0	84.6	148.8	175.6	169.0	138.0
Sugar beets	— ³	261.0	376.1	417.9	321.6	342.1
Fodder beets	363.7	282.2	449.1	513.8	402.3	416.9
Hay (field)	42.1	46.5	45.6	47.2	47.6	47.6
Hay (meadow)	28.9	32.4	32.0	30.8	30.8	31.5

¹ Based on official Czechoslovak statistical source.

² One kilogram equals 2.2 avoirdupois pounds; 1 hectare equals 2.47 acres.

³ Not comparable.

Table 6. Production of Major Crops of Czechoslovakia, Selected Years, 1960-69¹
 (in thousands of metric tons)

Crop	1960	1965	1967	1968	1969	Average 1965-69
Wheat	1,503	1,932	2,516	3,153	3,257	2,638
Rye and rye-wheat mixture	896	822	689	769	687	751
Barley	1,745	1,899	1,988	2,113	2,499	1,911
Oats and oat-barley mixture	1,020	630	968	869	969	886
Corn	572	893	421	463	495	448
Edible pulses	25	44	30	9	12	26
Potatoes	5,039	3,678	6,037	6,526	5,180	5,454
Sugar beets	... ²	5,662	7,668	8,098	5,809	6,999
Fodder beets	3,585	2,135	4,001	4,493	3,886	3,504
Hay	8,837	9,782	9,498	9,750	9,857	9,860

¹ Based on official Czechoslovak statistical sources.
² Not comparable.

the private sector. Losses on collective farms were much smaller. On state farms the herds of cattle roughly doubled, and the number of hogs increased by half during the decade through the absorption of collective and private farms. The increase on state farms, however, could not compensate for the losses in the other agricultural sectors.

*Table 7. Livestock Numbers of Czechoslovakia by Type of Ownership,
Selected Years, 1960-70¹*

(in thousands)

Type of Livestock and Ownership	1960	1962	1965	1968	1970
Horses.....	389	292	204	166	144
Cattle.....	4,303	4,518	4,436	4,437	4,223
Cows:					
State.....	244	325	437	477	485
Collective farms.....	1,016	1,150	1,084	1,055	1,026
Collective farmers.....	390	322	219	183	166
Other ²	422	265	219	214	207
Total.....	2,072	2,062	1,959	1,929	1,884
Hogs:					
State.....	961	1,176	1,395	1,216	1,013
Collective farms.....	2,781	3,203	3,270	3,066	2,777
Collective farmers.....	1,013	844	780	681	616
Other ²	932	672	694	638	541
Total.....	5,687	5,895	6,139	5,601	5,037
Sheep and Goats:					
State.....	193	136	125	155	201
Collective farms.....	310	285	261	352	450
Collective farmers.....	79	81	81	114	136
Other ²	145	101	101	149	190
Total.....	727	603	568	770	977
Poultry:					
State.....	1,397	2,560	4,397	6,988	8,778
Collective farms.....	8,118	9,997	8,844	8,946	10,765
Collective farmers.....	9,331	8,660	7,791	7,384	7,317
Other ²	8,723	7,603	7,808	7,890	8,010
Total.....	27,569	28,805	28,840	31,208	34,870

¹ Based on official Czechoslovak statistical sources at beginning of year.

² Includes private farmers, landless livestock owners, trade organizations.

Reasons advanced by Czechoslovak officials for the decline of livestock herds included the labor shortage, aggravated by a general

aversion to working with livestock because of the primitive and difficult conditions of work, and an inadequate domestic production of fodder and mixed feeds. Officials also cited insufficient imports of feed concentrates owing to the shortage of foreign exchange and a deficient price structure for livestock products, particularly with regard to the output of collective farm members and the private sector.

Published statistics on the output of livestock products are incomplete. Production of meat, excluding poultry and mutton (for which no data were published), rose from 930,000 tons live weight in 1960 to almost 1.3 million tons in 1968 and declined slightly to 1.2 million tons in 1969 (see table 8). A portion of the increase in output occurred at the cost of a reduction in the numbers of productive livestock.

*Table 8. Output of Livestock Products of Czechoslovakia,
Selected Years, 1960-69¹*

Product	Unit of Measure	1960	1963	1965	1968	1969
Milk ²	million gallons	981	905	1,005	1,166	1,217
Eggs	million dozen	189	210	251	273	286
Meat:						
Beef	1,000 tons live weight	347	385	432	538	509
Pork	do	552	579	694	588	654
Veal	do	30	25	30	49	48
Total meat	do	929	989	1,156	1,275	1,211

¹ Based on official Czechoslovak statistical sources.

² Includes milk fed to calves.

Milk production rose from a low of 905 million gallons in 1963 to 1,217 million gallons in 1969, despite the concurrent decline in the number of cows. According to official statistics, the increase in output was achieved through a 43 percent rise in the milk yield per cow—from 450 to 645 gallons. In this context it must be noted that the reported volume of production includes milk fed to calves. The upward production trend ceased in 1970, at least in the Czech republic.

During the same period egg production rose by 43 percent from 189 million dozen to 286 million dozen. The average annual number of eggs laid per hen (including all hens, not only layers) was reported to have increased steadily from 104 in 1960 to 171 in 1969—a rise of 64 percent.

INDUSTRY

Industrial development has been handicapped by a lack of natural resources, a poorly motivated and numerically inadequate labor force, inefficient management by political appointees, and restricted access to Western markets. Excessive emphasis on the development of heavy industry because of pressure from the Soviet Union and the politically motivated orientation of trade toward the communist countries of Eastern Europe have also served to deprive industry of the diversity, flexibility, and opportunity for technological progress that are essential for the maintenance of productivity and international competitiveness. The failure of the economic reform and the subsequently increased political and economic dependence on the Soviet Union do not augur well for the announced program of industrial modernization.

Mineral Resources

The country is poor in mineral resources other than uranium and those needed for the manufacture of building materials, glass, and ceramics. Most of the essential mineral requirements must therefore be imported. The entire uranium output has been preempted by the Soviet Union.

Deposits of coal and lignite, which account for three-fourths of the mineral output, are inadequate to meet the needs of the power and chemical industries. Resources of petroleum and natural gas, which are technologically and economically more advantageous than solid fuels, are insignificant. Petroleum production has been limited to about 200,000 tons per year, and there are no prospects for the discovery of significant new deposits.

Production of coal and lignite in 1969 amounted to 102.5 million tons, including 27.2 million tons of anthracite and bituminous coal, and is planned to remain at about the same level to 1975. The supply of anthracite has been below requirements, necessitating imports of about 4.6 million tons per year. Bilateral agreements provide for annual imports of 3 million tons from the Soviet Union and 2.8 million tons from Poland.

The output of brown coal and lignite is not expected to increase significantly until 1975 or later, when large new strip mines are scheduled to go into operation. The anticipated increase of roughly 3 million tons over the 1970-74 period will fall short of the expected rise in demand. The supply situation will therefore continue to be critical, at least until 1975, and will require special measures, including emergency work shifts in the mines and some controls over fuel and power consumption.

Improvement of the fuel balance for power production and provision of raw materials for the nascent petrochemical industry are of major importance for further economic development, in the view of Czechoslovak economists and officials. In this context reliance is placed primarily on imports of crude oil and natural gas from the Soviet Union. Almost 90 percent of the increase in fuel supplies during the 1971-75 period is to be obtained through imports.

Imports of crude oil from the Soviet Union rose to 9.3 million tons in 1969 and are scheduled to reach between 15 million and 17 million tons by 1975. Consideration is also being given to imports of petroleum from Iran. Imports of natural gas exceeded 1 billion cubic meters in 1969 and are planned to triple by 1975. Transit fees to be earned eventually from natural gas passing through a pipeline across Czechoslovakia from the Soviet Union to West Germany, Austria, Italy, and East Germany are estimated at 0.9 billion cubic meters in 1975 and 1.6 billion cubic meters when the full capacity of the pipeline is reached.

Reserves of ferrous metals are mostly low grade. At planned levels of exploitation, iron ore deposits will be exhausted in thirty-three years, and deposits of magnesite, in fifty years. Domestically mined iron ore satisfies only about 5 percent of requirements. Supplies of magnesite, however, provide an export surplus. About 88 percent of the iron ore imports is obtained from the Soviet Union; the balance is purchased in Western countries.

Reserves of nonferrous metals are very limited or nonexistent. Copper processed from domestic ores covers less than 9 percent of requirements, and no improvement in supplies is anticipated. About double this amount is processed from scrap. Lead production from domestic sources covers about 12 percent of needs and is expected to maintain this ratio in the foreseeable future. Domestically mined zinc concentrates must be exported at a loss because of a lack of processing facilities. All zinc metal requirements must therefore be imported. If the concentrates could be processed, they would cover about 17 percent of needs. Of other nonferrous ores, only antimony and mercury are available in significant quantities. At the present rate of exploitation, however, known reserves of antimony will be exhausted by 1980.

The cost of domestic mineral production has been inordinately high. Some of the high-cost coal mines were therefore closed in the second half of the 1960s, and in 1969 the government approved a set of principles for establishing cost ceilings for domestically mined ferrous and nonferrous ores. Domestic ore-mining operations, even at costs higher than import prices, will nevertheless continue because the closure of domestic facilities would necessitate an increase in imports from Western countries of more than Kč1 billion by 1975—for which foreign exchange is not available.

Electric Power

Installed electric generating capacity in 1969 was 10.1 million kilowatts, 85 percent of which was in thermal stations and 15 percent in hydroelectric stations. Coal and lignite accounted for almost 90 percent of the electricity output; water power, for not quite 6 percent; and oil and natural gas, for little more than 4 percent. Czechoslovak engineers considered the existing electric power stations to be largely obsolete, to be heavily dependent on uneconomic types of fuel, and improperly located with regard to the major consumers of power.

As a result of what was officially described as mistakes in the reform government's fuels and power policy, construction of electric power stations during the second half of the 1960s lagged behind the rise in the demand for electricity. The construction of new power stations with a capacity of 3.7 million kilowatts is planned during the 1971-75 period. Less than 30 percent of the new capacity, however, is scheduled to be completed before 1974, so that the shortage will remain for several more years. Preliminary estimates by Czech power engineers placed the shortage of generating capacity in the winters of 1973/74 and 1974/75 at almost 1 million kilowatts.

The inferior quality of conventional domestic fuel supplies and their anticipated exhaustion by the middle of the next century, coupled with the availability of substantial uranium deposits, focused the attention of economists and officials on the potentiality of nuclear power production. Under an agreement with the Soviet Union for mutual aid in the peaceful use of nuclear energy, a joint project for the construction of an atomic power station with a heavy water reactor using natural uranium as fuel was prepared in 1957. Construction of the station was supposed to begin in 1958, and it was expected to go into operation by 1963.

After a token beginning in 1958, actual construction work did not commence until 1964. The completion date was repeatedly postponed and, as of mid-1971, the power plant was not expected to become operational until some time in 1972, at best. The possibility that this project may eventually be abandoned is not excluded. No reference to it was made by the chairman of the Czechoslovak Atomic Energy Commission in an article on the role of nuclear energy in the country's fuel balance, published in October 1970, nor was it mentioned in the section on fuel and power industries of the directives for the fifth Five Year Plan. In June 1971 the commission chairman expressed grave doubts about the future of heavy water reactors and uncertainty about the successful completion of the project under construction.

In 1970 or 1971, however, a new agreement was signed for the delivery by the Soviet Union of two atomic power stations with a total capacity of 1.7 million kilowatts. The stations are to be based on

reactors using enriched uranium 235 as fuel, which cannot be produced in the country and which is to be supplied by the Soviet Union. Construction is to begin in 1972, and the stations are planned to enter into operation in four stages from 1977 to 1980.

Foreign observers believed that the failure to complete the initial nuclear power station program was due in part to technical difficulties and to delays in the delivery of essential components by domestic and foreign suppliers. They also speculated that the Soviet leadership deliberately withheld its cooperation in the belief that it was not in the Soviet interest to allow Czechoslovakia to become independent of Soviet management of uranium supplies.

Nuclear power stations fueled by natural uranium would be of great economic benefit to the country. They would allow large savings because the uranium fuel could be produced from the rich domestic sources. A Czechoslovak energy specialist observed in 1969 that the country could not afford to build a uranium enrichment plant and that the adoption of a nuclear power program based on enriched uranium 235 would leave Czechoslovakia entirely dependent upon the Soviet Union. The purchase of atomic power stations in the West, briefly considered during the reform era, is precluded by the prevailing political conditions.

Production of electricity amounted to 45.2 billion kilowatt-hours in 1970—about 4 billion kilowatt-hours short of minimum requirements. The shortage was covered by increased imports from Eastern European countries. Only a small portion of the imported energy, however, has been available during periods of peak demand because none of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) partners has sufficient reserve capacities for large-scale exports. Czechoslovak power experts anticipate a balancing of the demand for power with the domestic supply at the earliest in 1976, assuming that the program for the construction of new power stations proceeds on schedule and that a substantial improvement is achieved in the efficiency of power production and power utilization by industrial consumers.

Apart from the obsolescence of the power stations and the chronic fuel deficit, inefficient use of the available fuel resources and frequent breakdowns of the generating equipment and of the transmission system have aggravated the power shortage and caused severe power crises during the winters of 1969/70 and 1970/71. In the Slovak republic alone 931 breakdowns of high tension lines occurred in 1969, 304 of which were classified as major and required extensive periods for repair. Yet Slovak power industry officials considered themselves fortunate to have escaped the "calamitous collapse of power" that struck the Czech republic in the same year. Repair of generating equipment and transmission lines has been hampered by inadequate availability of finances, materials, repair facilities, and technicians.

The shortage of electric power made it necessary to introduce various measures to restrict consumption. One such measure involves the allocation of power to large users in industry and construction on a quarterly basis. Another measure requires a reduction in the amount of electricity used by industrial enterprises during peak load hours.

Initially no formal restrictions were placed on small consumers. As of January 1, 1971, however, strict limitation were placed on all previously exempted electricity users, including farmers. Farm enterprises were directed to refrain from operating power-driven equipment between the hours of 6:00 and 10:00 A.M. and 4:00 and 8:00 P.M. Lights were to be turned on only when absolutely necessary. Lighting of streets and public buildings was also to be reduced to the essential minimum. The population at large was admonished to reduce electricity consumption, particularly from 5:00 to 8:00 P.M., and was forbidden to use electricity for heating if other means of heating were available.

Many enterprises found their power allotment to be below minimum requirements, particularly those called upon by the economic plan to expand their production substantially. Although compliance with the restrictive provisions was reported to be generally good, violations, nevertheless, did take place. Violations are punishable by fines, the proceeds from which are channeled into the budget.

Organization and Structure

A coherent description of the industrial organization and structure is not feasible because of numerous gaps in the available information and, more particularly, because of the inadequacy and incompatibility of official statistics on individual aspects of industry. Industry and construction are treated as separate sectors of the economy, both organizationally and statistically (see ch. 10, Character and Structure of the Economy).

In 1969 industry employed 2.6 million persons, excluding apprentices; almost 2 million of the employed were blue-collar workers. The state industrial establishment included 871 large-scale enterprises employing not quite 1.8 million blue-collar workers. About 66 percent of the enterprises employed more than 1,000 workers each, and 6 percent employed more than 5,000 workers each. Only 12 percent of the enterprises had fewer than 500 workers. Ninety percent of all blue-collar workers were employed in enterprises having more than 1,000 workers. Comparable information on collective and small state industrial enterprises is not available. About 194,960 blue-collar workers were employed in this sector.

About 90 percent of the industrial output in the 1960s originated in manufacturing. The remaining output was accounted for by mining, the production of power, and the provision of water.

Industrial production has been heavily concentrated on the manufacture of capital goods. In 1969 the capital goods sector accounted for 62 percent of the gross industrial output valued at Kč386 billion and provided employment for more than 60 percent of the industrial blue-collar workers. With 28.5 percent of the total output, machine building and metalworking constituted the major branch of industry. Food processing was next in importance with 16.4 percent of the output, followed by metallurgy and mining with 10.7 percent and 8.4 percent of the gross output, respectively. Together the four branches accounted for roughly two-thirds of the industrial production.

More than three-fourths of the industrial output in 1969 was produced in the Czech republic, including 47 percent in Bohemia and 30 percent in Moravia. Although Slovak industry had been growing somewhat more rapidly than industry in the Czech republic during the 1960s, it still produced only 23 percent of the gross output in 1969. In no branch of industry did the Slovak republic account for as much as 35 percent of the output; its share exceeded 30 percent only in the production of building materials and clothing and in woodworking.

During the 1966-70 period priority was given to the development of the machine-building and chemical industries. The priority of these industries is to be maintained during the 1971-75 period, with special emphasis on the production of technologically advanced electric power generating equipment, digitally controlled automatic machinery, computers, synthetic fibers, and plastics. Within the chemical industry priority is to be given to the relatively backward petrochemical branch. In cooperation with the Soviet Union and East Germany, facilities are to be built for the production of basic raw materials and processed products. Cooperation with COMECON partners and specialization of production are inevitable because of the magnitude of the investment required and the small size of the domestic market. The production of petrochemicals is to be based on Soviet crude oil and natural gas.

Czechoslovak economists consider the country's industry to be structurally deficient and technologically backward compared to industries of other developed nations. This backwardness has entailed a loss of foreign markets not only in the West but also among COMECON partners.

The structural imbalance was said to have been caused by excessive emphasis in past years on coal, steel, and standard machinery, which impeded the development of chemicals, electronics, and technologically advanced machines. Compared to industries in other developed nations toward the end of the 1960s, the share of chemicals

in the domestic industrial output was roughly two-thirds as high, and the share of electrical engineering and automation in machine building was only two-fifths as high. The construction industry was judged to lag from five to fifteen years in terms of the quantity, assortment, and quality of prefabricated structural parts.

Obsolescence of the machinery inventory in several branches of industry has been an important factor in relative industrial inefficiency. This has been particularly true in food processing and other consumer industries. In the machine-building industry, the bulk of the machine tool inventory consists of universal machines of standard size. The few available specialized and precision machine tools are overage. In general, the proportion of highly productive machines is small, and the number of automated machines is insignificant.

A lack of adequate specialization constitutes another element responsible for low productivity because it entails small-scale production and loss of working time through frequent changeovers. The machine-building industry, for instance, manufactures from 70 to 80 percent of all the types of machinery produced in the world. This practice results in high-cost and low-quality output.

Few products of the country's industry are competitive in world markets. In 1968 new products constituted about 10 percent of the total industrial output; less than one-third of these products measured up to world standards technically and in terms of cost. Only about 1 percent of the total number of products evaluated under a state testing scheme in the same year were reported to have been of sufficiently high quality to compete with international products.

In large measure the technological lag and the general lack of productive efficiency have been attributed by Czechoslovak economists and officials to the low caliber of industrial management. The ranks of highly qualified managerial and technical personnel were decimated during the period of Nazi occupation and World War II, by the subsequent expulsion of the Sudeten Germans, and by the political purges under the communist government. For two decades the management of industry has been entrusted to political appointees, most of whom have lacked the requisite technical and economic background.

Restricted in their activities by the state's investment, trade, and fiscal policies within a highly centralized system of economic direction and control, enterprise managers have had little freedom of decisionmaking and have generally followed instructions from superiors, rather than exercising their own initiative. The system of incentives and rewards also acted to inhibit technological advance. Recognition of the management problem and attempted remedies by the government had not brought about an significant improvement by mid-1971.

Labor

The average number of persons employed in industry, excluding apprentices, increased from 2,480,000 in 1965 to 2,623,000 in 1969; the corresponding increase in construction was from 521,000 to 585,000 persons. During the same period the proportion of women in industry and construction rose from 41.1 to 43.3 percent and from 14 to 15 percent, respectively.

Industry and construction have suffered from a chronic and increasingly severe shortage of skilled and unskilled labor. The shortage has been caused by population losses through war and emigration and by a steady decline in the birth rate after World War II, with its adverse effects on the growth and the age structure of the population. Officials anticipate a progressive reduction in new additions to the labor force until 1980. Whereas total employment in the economy rose by 272,000 workers in the 1966-70 period, an increment of only 120,000 new workers can be counted upon in the 1971-75 period, four-fifths of them female, and an increase as low as 35,000 workers is anticipated in the subsequent five years. After 1980 there will be an absolute drop in the number of persons of working age.

At the end of 1969 there were more than 87,900 job vacancies in the economy, including 36,000 in enterprises subordinated to the Czech ministries of industry and construction. By the middle of 1970 the number of job vacancies in the Czech republic alone had risen to about 90,000—of which some 34,000 were in industry and 8,000 were in construction.

The labor shortage was aggravated by a gradual transition in the 1964-69 period from a 48-hour workweek to a workweek of 42½ hours (40 hours in mining and heavy industry), without a fully compensating increase in labor productivity. It was further intensified by rising rates of labor turnover and absenteeism, particularly after the temporary relaxation of government controls in 1968.

Excluding the loss of workers through retirement, transfer to other occupations, and induction into the armed forces, the turnover due to job changes in the 1965-69 period rose from about 17 to 20 percent in industry and from 26 to 30 percent in construction. The transfers involved mainly young workers in search of better pay and living conditions. Losses to the national economy arising from the labor turnover were estimated by Czechoslovak economists at from Kč5 billion to Kč10 billion per year.

Absenteeism because of sickness or accidents rose from an average of a little more than 4 percent in the 1958-64 period to 5.75 percent in the first half of 1970. The average duration of an illness also increased from 16.4 days in 1965 to almost 29 days in mid-1970. Aside from the huge production losses involved, sick benefits paid out of budgetary

resources rose from Kč3.4 billion in 1967 to Kč4.5 billion in 1969. The increase in absenteeism was ascribed to a lowering of worker morale and to a relaxation of state supervision over physicians issuing certificates of unfitness for work.

In an effort to reduce job turnover and strengthen labor discipline, the counterreform government, beginning in 1969, reintroduced various labor regulations that had been discarded under the reform. These measures reimposed government controls over hiring and wages; placed limits—enforceable through penalties—on the number of workers that may be employed by individual branches, enterprises, and plants; and provided for the transfer of workers to priority sectors. They also reimposed stricter supervision over the granting of sick leave and made provision to ensure adherence to prescribed hours of work.

At the beginning of 1970 the annual worktime was increased by four days, and in 1971 extra work shifts were introduced (without additional pay for timeworkers) to compensate for certain holidays. As viewed by foreign observers, the government's new labor policy relied primarily on administrative measures rather than on material incentives in seeking to attain a better use of scarce labor resources.

Loss of productive time in the economy from all causes averaged from 20 to 30 percent. Machinery was used only to between 40 and 50 percent of capacity. Labor productivity, according to official statistics, increased by about 50 percent in the 1960s, substantially less than the advances reported by some of the other Eastern European states. If each worker were to reduce his unproductive worktime by only ten minutes a day, this would be equivalent to an addition of 146,000 new workers—enough to fill all vacancies reported in 1970. Some Czechoslovak economists estimated this so-called hidden labor reserve to be as high as 200,000 or more workers.

The official long-term program for dealing with the labor shortage calls for an overall rise in the productive efficiency through more intensive use of available resources and an improvement in the quality of economic organization and management. An important element of the program is the modernization of industry and agriculture to be achieved through increased production of modern technologically advanced machinery and equipment. A certain amount of such equipment has been produced, but mainly for export to the Soviet Union; as a result, the country's productive assets have become increasingly obsolete—a factor that has contributed significantly to the labor shortage.

Raising the workers' morale and work discipline also constitutes an essential part of the labor program. This goal is to be achieved through monetary incentives by widening the gap between the incomes of efficient workers showing initiative and those who fail to fulfill their tasks. Plans for 1971, however, did not provide for any

significant delevering in the rates of pay, and the minister of industry of the Czechoslovak republic found it necessary to urge the adoption of measures that would increase the stimulating effect of wages. Instead, reliance was placed on tightening administrative controls over labor.

Investment and Construction

Total investment in 1969, in terms of 1967 prices, amounted to Kc88 billion, Kc54 billion of which was spent on buildings and Kc34 billion on machinery and equipment. The official statistics show no investment in working capital. The sum invested in 1969 reflected an increase of 68 percent compared with a low of about Kc52 billion in 1963. The rise in investment was most rapid in 1968 and 1969—10 and 11 percent, respectively—as a result of the relaxation of central controls and of the large windfall profits earned by enterprises in the wake of the price reform in 1967 (see ch. 10, Character and Structure of the Economy). Investment in 1970 was unofficially reported to have been 6.1 percent higher than in 1969, that is, about Kc93.4 billion. The slowdown in the rate of investment growth was caused by the reimposition of government restraints.

About three-fourths of the total investment in 1969 was channeled into the economy; the remainder was devoted to housing and to various social and cultural purposes. Industry received the largest share, 38 percent; transportation and communications, 15 percent; housing, 14 percent; and agriculture, 11 percent. Of the Kc33 billion invested in industry, Kc6.8 billion was allocated to machine building and metalworking; Kc3.8 billion to the chemical industry branch; Kc3 billion each for electric power and food processing; Kc2.5 billion each for mining and ferrous metallurgy; and sums ranging from Kc0.3 billion to Kc2.1 billion for various other branches of industry. Investment in the construction industry amounted to Kc3.2 billion.

Planned investment in the 1971-75 period is to be stabilized at a level of 29 to 30 percent of national income and is scheduled to increase by 35 to 37 percent over the amount invested in the preceding five-year period. Western economists have estimated that these figures imply an investment of roughly Kc110 billion in 1975 and a total investment over the five-year period of from Kc500 billion to Kc548 billion. This volume of investment would constitute an increase of Kc100 billion to Kc150 billion for the five years—an amount considered excessive in relation to the planned rise of approximately Kc80 billion in national income. The strain on investment resources, it was concluded, would therefore continue. Ample confirmation of this conclusion was provided by official and other Czechoslovak sources. The Western observers also cited a Czechoslovak source to the effect that excessive investment in the

past was one of the reasons for the failure of the third and fourth five-year plans.

The planned rise of 35 to 37 percent in capital construction is greater than the 33-percent increase attained in each of the two preceding five-year periods. In order to achieve the completion of the planned construction program in the 1971-75 period, productivity in the construction industry must increase by 36 percent, because only minimal additions of labor will be possible, and the building materials industry will have to attain a 12-percent lead over the growth in the building industry's construction capacity. Building materials have been in consistently short supply.

For many years new investment projects have exceeded the capacity of the building industry, with consequent increases in the volume of unfinished construction, costly delays in the introduction of new industrial capacities, and failure to relieve the critical housing shortage. Construction starts were reported to have reached a volume of Kč130 billion in 1970, despite measures adopted by the government to limit new construction in that year. These measures consisted of lowering the ceiling on investment in agriculture and the food-processing industry by almost 50 percent; they were referred to in a Slovak newspaper as ineffective palliatives and likened to a patched-up crock that would sooner or later begin to leak. The writer of the article called for a moratorium on all new construction starts, with the exception of housing and certain emergency projects.

In an attempt to deal with the perennial construction problems, the government issued a set of rules and regulations for the year 1971 intended to facilitate the efficient completion of key targets through close supervision and control of all stages of their construction. As stated by a member of the State Planning Commission, the federal government spelled out for all participants in construction the process to be followed for achieving success. The new policy applies to seventy-six key projects in fuels and power, transport and communications, production of building materials, programs essential for modifying the structure of industry, and projects essential for meeting export commitments.

Guarantees, reinforced by legally provided penalties, were drawn up for each step in the operation—from the original design to the final acceptance of the complete structure by the customer. Rigid rules were also drawn up to define capacities of structures, completion deadlines, and start of operation, as well as the maximum cost of each project. At the same time, the government ordered that rules be formulated by the end of March 1971, that would delineate the responsibilities of all participants in the building trade. These measures were to provide the basis for monitoring the progress of all construction projects in the priority program.

The seventy-six key priority projects included in the guaranteed building program were selected by mutual consent of federal and republic organs. Together with other priority projects included in the annual plan, the volume of construction involved represented about 50 percent of the building industry's output potential. It is indicative of the continuing strain on investment resources and the construction industry that the State Planning Commission concluded that it could add no more projects to the guaranteed construction program if any hope were to be maintained for its successful conclusion.

Production

In the 1960-69 period gross industrial output rose by 65 percent, or by an average annual rate of 5.8 percent, according to official statistics. Western economists, however, estimated the annual rate of growth to have been only 4.4 percent in the 1960-68 period. Production of capital goods increased by 73 percent, and the output of consumer goods grew by 54 percent. Industrial output in 1970 was reported to have increased by 7.7 percent.

In line with official policy, the chemical industry attained the highest increase in production—139 percent, the output of machine building and metalworking advanced by 94 percent, and power production grew by 89 percent. The lowest increases in output were attained by the food-processing and textile industries—only 32 and 35 percent, respectively. Commodity output in 1969 remained generally in short supply (see table 9).

Table 9. Output of Selected Industrial Products of Czechoslovakia,
Selected Years, 1960-69¹

Product	Unit	1960	1963	1966	1969
Electric power.....	billion kilowatt-hours.....	24	30	36	43
Coal and lignite.....	million metric tons.....	88	106	101	107
Crude oil.....	thousand metric tons.....	137	180	190	210
Pig iron.....	.....do.....	4,696	5,254	6,269	7,009
Steel.....	.....do.....	6,768	7,600	9,124	10,802
Copper.....	.....do.....	n.a.	n.a.	12	16
Lead.....	.....do.....	n.a.	n.a.	16	20
Aluminum.....	.....do.....	n.a.	n.a.	24	35
Cement.....	.....do.....	5,051	5,178	6,130	6,733
Paper.....	.....do.....	443	471	544	598
Nitrogen fertilizers ².....	.....do.....	140	154	251	299
Phosphate fertilizers ³.....	.....do.....	147	203	261	289
Synthetic fibers ⁴.....	.....do.....	62	75	83	94
Plastics.....	.....do.....	64	95	122	210
Machine tools.....	thousand units.....	36	32	33	44
Tractors.....	.....do.....	33	28	28	19
Grain binders, tractor-drawn.....	.....units.....	4,911	563	2,002	0
Potato harvester, tractor-drawn.....	.....do.....	1,001	1,673	500	300
Trucks.....	thousand units.....	16	13	18	24
Automobiles.....	.....do.....	56	56	“	132
Radio receivers.....	.....do.....	230	273	247	283
Television sets.....	.....do.....	263	235	228	382
Household refrigerators.....	.....do.....	132	221	279	269
Household washing machines.....	.....do.....	218	175	230	257
Cotton yarn.....	thousand metric tons.....	16	107	112	109
Woolen yarn.....	.....do.....	39	41	37	43
Cotton textiles.....	million meters.....	446	467	494	472
Woolen textiles.....	.....do.....	46	46	35	49
Footwear.....	million pairs.....	96	91	101	113
Leather shoes.....	.....do.....	44	45	51	55

n.a.—not available.

¹ Based on official Czechoslovak statistical sources.

² Plant nutrients.

³ Excludes glass fibers.

CHAPTER 12

PUBLIC ORDER AND INTERNAL SECURITY

In 1971 responsibility for maintaining peace and stability within the country was diffused throughout a number of governmental agencies and several social organizations, all of which either received positive policy guidance from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (Komunisticka Strana Ceskoslovenska—KSC) or were under its direct control. The internal security situation was in many respects an aftermath of the 1968 crisis, after which the security and social organizations had directed their efforts toward reinstituting approved ideological concepts. They were also required to apply themselves more aggressively against the portion of the population that remained alienated, either in a criminal sense or because of their sympathy with the liberal ideological tendencies characteristic of the middle and late 1960s (see ch. 7, Political Dynamics and Values).

The main police forces were organized under the Ministry of the Interior. The ministry's National Security Corps encompassed local and criminal police units. The corps was assisted in its routine duties by a voluntary auxiliary force and, in an emergency, would be supported by the paramilitary People's Militia. The small state security police force, formed to deal with covert threats to the state and to conduct the nation's intelligence effort, was also organized within the Ministry of the Interior.

Social organizations, always sponsored by or affiliated with the party, were designed to enroll as much of the population as possible in special interest groups. As a primary mission or as a part of its program each social organization influenced its members to support the police, armed forces, or some other element contributing to the stability of the country, in addition to supporting the regime and adhering to the party's ideology.

The highest judicial body in the land was the federal Supreme Court, but lower courts and penal institutions were organized at the republic level rather than the federal. The penal code included a wide range of regulations to protect an individual's rights and to assure him of a fair and open trial. During periods such as that of the 1968 crisis, however, civil rights were circumvented.

The overall crime rate in the country has risen since about 1960, accelerating in 1968 and 1969. Few are tried for ideological deviation or for purely political reasons, but many types of crime are included

in the category known as "crimes against the state." The rate of increase was slowing in 1970 and 1971, but the rate was considerably higher than that of neighboring countries and was considered unacceptable by the country's leaders. Penal institutions emphasized their rehabilitation programs, especially those for younger criminals. The longest prison sentences were authorized for crimes against the state and state property. The death penalty was authorized but was seldom handed down by the courts.

INTERNAL SECURITY

The Ministry of the Interior is responsible for internal and state security, personal records and data, citizenship, civil documents, and government archives. Its minister is a member of the federal government's Council of Ministers, responsible to the premier. The ministry has control of all armed security organizations in the country, except for the regular gend forces under the Ministry of National Defense and a few prison guards who are subordinate to the republican ministries of justice.

In 1971 party and governmental agencies were continuing the efforts initiated after the 1968 crisis to tighten discipline within security forces, to increase the effectiveness of controls over the population, and to make it more likely that they would support the regime in the event of future opposition. The task has been difficult because many police, secret police, guard, and paramilitary organizations had adapted to the country's liberal mood to a degree that alarmed the leadership. By 1971 activities considered dangerous to the regime had diminished considerably compared to the 1968 and early 1969 period.

Although the leadership considered strict discipline of the population essential to the KSC's position of primacy in all matters, the people no longer feared that the regime's efforts to reassert control would mean a reversion to the terror of the early 1950s. When mass political trials and bloody purges did not occur after the 1968 invasion, fear of the postinvasion regime seemed to change to apathy. Only a relative few were being prosecuted for dissenting views or for excessive literary or artistic license.

Police forces were under the Ministry of the Interior, which had been controlled by the Communists since 1945. At the time of the communist takeover in 1948 the police were most effective in helping to consolidate the position of the new government. They arrested certain of the army's key officers in strategic locations, immobilizing their forces and keeping them in the background. Shortly thereafter, during the purge period, which extended from about 1949 to 1954 but assumed its worst proportions after January 1951, the police were

again instrumental. Their participation, their attitude and lack of scruples, their interrogation methods—all were typical of the Stalinist model that they emulated (see ch. 3, Historical Setting).

"Secret Police" as a title was abolished in 1953. The public still uses the term, but police techniques, and apparently the attitudes of the men and many of their leaders, moderated significantly after that date. By the mid-1960s, according to complaints from some party spokesmen in 1971, the police appeared to operate in some degree independently from central authority and were only remotely responsive to governmental direction. At the time of the 1968 crisis the force "had many internal problems" and did not react immediately or positively to orders from those who theoretically had authority over them.

Student demonstrations occurred regularly during the early and mid-1960s—they were an annual event at May Day, for example—but they did not ordinarily approach riot proportions, cause damage or personal injury, or evoke serious police reaction. By 1968, however, they became more serious and, after the August crisis, they were not tolerated. Police arrested about 220 young people demonstrating "provocatively" during the November 7, 1968, celebrations of the Bolshevik Revolution. Since that time demonstrations have occurred less frequently, and none significant enough to be reported in the press took place during the 1971 May Day celebrations.

The reform spirit of 1968 had not been extinguished completely by 1971. Spokesmen warned that the opponents of the regime were still trying to subvert intellectuals and, in early 1971, a group of about twenty persons was tried in Prague on subversion charges. Only fifteen of the group, however, were sentenced—only one receiving a sentence of longer than 2-1/2 years—and, as the regime claimed, the crimes were as much economic as political in nature. A clandestine organization called the Socialist Movement of Czechoslovak Citizens existed in exile, but no such dissident organization was believed to have more than a few followers within the country.

Popular dissatisfaction took the form of public apathy toward work norms, economic controls and regulations, and party programs. Shop clerks, restaurant help, and other service personnel occasionally provided reluctant or minimal assistance. There were also instances of more overt malperformance, such as sabotage, desertion from the armed forces, and illegal financial and monetary operations.

The regime attempts to maintain information and personal data on as much of the population as possible. Employment records are kept on all workers at state enterprises and institutions or in any situation where more than occasional workers are employed. The records are intended primarily to show such information as job qualifications, employment history, and work performance, but they are detailed and provide other data that is useful for police records.

Identification must be carried by all persons using public or private transportation in towns. Police are not ordinarily lenient if they have reason to question an individual who does not have identity papers readily available. The individual may spend up to two days in jail until his identity is verified.

Firearms held by individuals are tightly controlled. Sales of hand guns and hunting weapons are regulated, and weapons are registered. There are also rigid controls over repairs and modifications to guns, although most of the measures are designed to make sure that a weapon is not changed in some way that makes it dangerous to use. Guns for personal use may be imported only with the permission of the district police department.

All persons are citizens of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and of one, but not both, of the constituent republics. Children under fifteen years of age are citizens of their parents' republic. If a child's parents are citizens of different republics, he is a citizen of the one in which he was born. Marriage does not alter citizenship, but one of the spouses can change republic ties by making a declaration to that effect within six months after the wedding date.

Basic responsibility for maintaining order is not delegated. The federal government is responsible for the control of the components of the armed forces and the security units that are assigned to the defense of the country and its federal organs and institutions; coordination of the activities of all armed police and security units in both republics; protection of state and economic secrets; regulation of assembly if the organization concerned is active in more than one part of the country; and regulation and control of road and rail traffic and other means of public communications. Although according to the country's newspapers, the leaders were dissatisfied with the situation in 1971, their statements indicated that any potential trouble in the immediate future could be handled without resort to extreme repressive measures.

National Security Corps

The Public Security Forces of the National Security Corps accomplish the regular local and municipal police functions but are not referred to officially as police. The regular force is relatively small but can be augmented on short notice by regiments in training status and is assisted by volunteer units of an auxiliary guard.

Applicants for direct assignment to police duty must have completed eight years of schooling and have served a tour in the armed forces. The upper age limit is thirty years, but exceptions have been granted often. Candidates must be healthy and over five feet six inches tall and must pass a battery of psychological tests. They must have no criminal records and must have references indicating that

they are politically reliable and morally upstanding. New members of the force serve an initial probationary period. Although it is usually for three months, the conditional appointment may be waived altogether in some cases, or it may be extended for as long as eighteen months. During this period the member is not given independent police assignments.

The force has six noncommissioned officer, seven officer, and three general officer ranks. The rank of a new member varies according to his educational qualifications. Eight years of required schooling admits him to the lowest noncommissioned officer rank; secondary school, to the next higher noncommissioned officer rank; and a university education, to the lowest officer rank. Upon successful completion of the probationary service, all members are promoted to one rank above that at which they entered the force.

An alternate training program was introduced in 1970. Increased crime rates and rapidly increasing numbers of vehicles on the country's highways had placed additional demands on the force. At the same time, because the prestige of security officers had deteriorated after the invasion of the country in 1968, new members could not be recruited and trained as rapidly as they were needed. In view of the situation, the government adopted a resolution establishing standby emergency security regiments.

To implement the resolution, the Ministry of National Defense agreed to cooperate with the Ministry of the Interior, allowing selection of draftees about to enter military service for alternate service in the National Security Corps. Those selected must have the necessary education and other qualifications required of direct applicants. They serve five months in the usual military basic training. At the end of the basic period they change uniforms and undergo police training for the nineteen months remaining of their conscript tours.

After the two years of basic military and police training, the men are required to serve for a minimum of three years with the police force. Police officials have been pleased at the early interest in the new program and anticipate that, if it continues to attract the desired numbers of applicants, it will provide side benefits in addition to the badly needed personnel. Among the added bonuses, it will lower the average age of the men in the force considerably, and it will provide regiments of readily available, if not totally trained, men who could be used in an emergency.

A member of the force may serve in routine police duties or may specialize in traffic control, criminology, criminal investigation, or administration. Salaries are the equivalent of those for skilled laborers and, at the age of fifty-five, the retirement pension is about 90 percent of the duty salary. Thirty days of annual leave are authorized. Service

is terminated if a member of the force fails to discharge his duties satisfactorily or if he commits a criminal act.

The police uniform is plum blue and includes an open-neck jacket and peaked cap. The shirt is a lighter blue and is worn with a blue tie. In summer a white jacket and white-topped cap are optional. A weapon, usually an automatic pistol, is carried only while men are on duty.

The bulk of police activities are those considered routine the world over. Because the party and government leadership considered the high crime rate unacceptable, however, during the spring of 1971 the police initiated mass search and dragnet operations looking for contraband and stolen goods.

The first searches were apparently organized locally, and those conducted in Bohemian regions concentrated on occupants of motor vehicles as well as on people in restaurants, apartments, and other buildings. In Slovakia public buildings and about 2,350 places described as "dens and hiding places of antisocial elements" were searched. Countrywide, the searches uncovered some 6,500 minor offenses and more than 1,400 more serious crimes. Of persons detained, however, only about 150 were formally arrested. Some illegally held firearms, ammunition, and explosives, and a considerable amount of stolen property were confiscated. Road blocks in Bohemia yielded a number of stolen cars and about 200 drunken drivers. In its reports on the results of the first of these sweeps the government announced that the searches would be repeated as long as the rate of crime indicated that they were necessary.

Citizens complain about arbitrary police practices, but the authorities say measures, such as keeping crowds in motion, are necessary to prevent disturbances from developing. Citizens are urged to support and cooperate in police operations and are instructed to admonish anyone "committing verbal crimes or antistate utterances" and to report anything more serious to the police.

More positive assistance to the police is provided by the Public Security Corps Auxiliary Guard. The guard is a voluntary activity, one of the state and social organizations created to enlist a segment of the population into an effort directly supporting the state and the party. In 1971 there were about 9,450 guard units, with over 60,000 members. The bulk of them assist in traffic control or work in spare hours with other specialized groups, such as railroad police or customs officials.

Auxiliary units have had low priority for equipment, and training has been minimal. The Ministry of the Interior in 1971, however, recognized the guard as one of the more reliable of the social organizations and citing its conduct during the 1968 crisis, advocated that it have expanded authority and more training and equipment and be given regular and continuing work. Ministry spokesmen have

declared that the guard should be maintained at a status from which it could react more quickly in an emergency.

The volume of police work has increased rapidly because of car thefts and the use of automobiles by criminals. Police work involving vehicle accidents has also increased. Czechoslovak drivers have not developed adequate safety disciplines and, in 1969, in proportion to the number of vehicles in operation, deaths on highways were three times the world average. The 71,000 reported accidents killed 2,500 people, seriously injured 12,500, and slightly injured another 36,000 and, in number of accidents, represented a 15 percent-increase over 1968.

Off to a late start in dealing with the problem, interior and transportation ministries have begun to take measures to improve highway safety and reduce vehicular incidents. In addition to more rigid traffic control and driving tests, certain vehicle operators are required to undergo regular medical examinations. Professional drivers, who operate fire engines, ambulances, and other emergency equipment, are examined at least every other year. All other drivers receive medical checks at ages sixty, sixty-five, and six-eighth and every two years thereafter.

Firefighting is also a police function. Firemen receive formal training at schools operated by the Ministry of the Interior for the police and for the armed forces. A large amount of modern and excellent quality firefighting equipment is manufactured in the country, but most of it is exported, and local fire companies have much that is obsolete. Units have no chemical powders and use hemp hoses and low-capacity foam extinguishers. The men have no fire-resistant clothing; alarm systems are outdated; fire engines are old. Civil defense units have similar equipment—most of it held in storage for emergency or wartime use.

Fifteen years of statistics (starting in 1955) showed that police units responded to almost 110,000 fires, in which nearly 1,900 persons lost their lives and about 11,000 were injured. Fire damage and costs were rising during the late 1960s.

People's Militia

Armed factory guard units were formed in considerable numbers during the uncertain days immediately after World War II. In many instances they were the only effective protection for their enterprises, and the plant management considered them essential. Nearly all of them, however, irrespective of the purpose for which they were created, were directly under the control of communist-dominated labor unions.

Although the degree of their activity in support of the Communists in 1948 varied widely from plant to plant and in different sections of

the country and the party denies that they were an important factor in its success, the factory guards formed the nucleus of the People's Militia, which was formally legalized in December of that year. The militia's mission was the protection and defense of the socialist society, and it was given police powers equal to those of the National Security Corps.

The militia's activities during the early 1960s included assistance in railroad building, fire prevention, and various construction projects. Although its paramilitary functions were not emphasized in the news media, militia forest patrols were active, and local units were called upon to perform in a national guard capacity during natural disasters.

The militia proved to be generally reliable in 1968, but party officials have stated that there was some loss in its membership after the August invasion, when its "unfirm" and "fellow traveler" elements were removed. By 1970 its membership was being restored, its strength that year was up 6 percent over 1969. Over one-half of its members were considered workers, and about one-third were technically trained. Former armed forces personnel and union and civil defense workers are encouraged to join the militia. Party leaders have said that they hope to build the militia's strength to about 250,000 men, but its 1971 strength was probably considerably less than one-half of the force goal.

Civil Defense

The civil defense organization was formed in 1951 to cooperate with the first air defense units that were established at about the same time. Its mission was to provide all possible protection for the population in the event of hostile air raids and to limit the damage from them insofar as possible. The 1971 mission of the organization was little changed from the original, but the functions it could perform had been expanded, and its services had been made available for use in a wider range of emergency situations than was first envisaged.

Civil defense is a responsibility of the Ministry of the Interior in the federal government, but subordinate units exist at all governmental levels. Local units are formed in cities, villages, rural areas, schools, industrial and business enterprises, and any other institutions of moderate size. Size and training of units are determined by location and likelihood of use in an emergency. Some formal civil defense training has been received by at least one-third of the population. It is given in all primary schools and is part of the premilitary training in secondary schools and universities. Adult programs are available in after-hour classes sponsored by several of the mass organizations. Parts of the financing for the Red Cross, the Union for Fire

Protection, and the Union for Cooperation with the Army are provided from funds appropriated for civil defense.

Local units can provide firefighting, medical, chemical, communications, and some engineering services. Such units were active, for example, during the great Danube River flood of 1965 and again in 1970, combating a cholera epidemic in Slovakia.

State Security

In the communist government of 1948 state security was a function of the Ministry of the Interior, but in 1950 a separate ministry was established and, as executor of the purges, the Ministry of State Security became a powerful and feared agency. In 1953 the separate ministry was abruptly abolished, and the responsibility was again given to the Ministry of the Interior, where it remained in 1971.

Most of the work of the state security forces that is reported in the open media involves alleged external threats to the country. Nations allegedly unsympathetic to the regime are frequently accused of fomenting or supporting subversive activities against Western countries are said to use cultural relationships as covers for espionage efforts. Visitors occasionally bring in unauthorized literature or express excessively antiregime opinions and are sometimes arrested and convicted in Czechoslovak courts. Illegal drug traffic is also a concern of the state security police.

PUBLIC ORDER

Government and party leaders put heavy emphasis on getting the largest possible popular participation in organizations that shape public opinion, regulate people's conduct, and support the regime. The party sponsors or controls many mass organizations that reach more deeply into the population and its daily life to influence the people. These organizations aim at special interest groups and include labor unions, youth and sports groups, and scientific and cultural societies. All of them are controlled by the party, and all project its influence upon a segment of the population, seeking to elicit cooperation with the regime. Success is measured by the degree to which the population supports the regime and cooperates voluntarily (see ch. 7, Political Dynamics and Values).

The Communist Party, National Front, and Labor Unions

The Czechoslovak system differs from those in many other communist countries in that it recognizes several political parties. These parties, however, function much as auxiliaries of the KSC and are not considered its rivals. The National Front—a coalition of the

mass organizations and the political parties—was created to represent them in their dealings with each other, to run elections, and to give an appearance of consensus. The front describes its primary task as “winning over members of the organizations and the citizens to the policies of the party and the socialist state . . . to coordinate, unify, and harmonize a common procedure for solving the main tasks of the whole society . . . and to strengthen the ideological, organizational, and action unity of the party and its links with the people.”

Severing of ties with the National Front removes an organization's official sponsorship, its official relationship with any other major group, and most of its means of external communications. Many intellectual groups, particularly those of students, writers, or artists, proclaimed their independence from party controls during early 1968, but nearly all of them were forced back into line after the August invasion. With only a few exceptions, the rebellious organizations have been reorganized and have been satisfactorily reoriented. A few, however, have not survived. The Czech Union of Scientific Workers, for example, was accused of incorrect ideological leanings in January of 1971 and was expelled from the front.

The KSC itself maintains its controls through its cells. The basic units are formed in all enterprises, units of the armed forces or security forces, mass organizations, or any other group where there is a nucleus of party members. Such units disseminate party information and policies, encourage conformity with party directives and goals, and report to higher echelons of the party organization.

The party maintains control of its membership by periodic review of its rosters. About 150,000 members were purged during the late 1940s, shortly after the KSC gained control of the country. About 500,000, or nearly one-third of its 1.7 million members, were dropped between 1968 and 1971. Some were expelled for their 1968 activities; others turned in their party cards after the invasion, but most of them—about 300,000—were suspended during the 1970 party card exchange.

Labor unions play a significant role in mobilizing the working force to support the regime. The Revolutionary Trade Union Movement is one of the mass organizations and a member of the National Front. The many individual unions associated with the various occupational areas not only represent their membership in wage and working condition interests but primarily support the party in encouraging members to work and to increase their productivity. Tasks of union leaders, as listed in one of their official publications, include protecting the legal interests of the workers, encouraging workers to use available facilities to further the socialist approach to work, struggling against disorder and bad discipline, strengthening social consciousness, performing mass political work, contributing to the

implementation of party policies, and encouraging workers to fulfill state planning production targets.

Youth Organizations

The Socialist Youth Union, together with its closely allied Pioneer Organization for younger children, is the officially sponsored mass organization for young people. A resolution of the Central Committee of the KSC adopted on November 17, 1969, decreed that these groups would "place or incorporate the various youth organizations existing at that time. Before 1968 about ten had been active, and during the early months of that year some of those had splintered or new ones had sprung up until, at the time of the August crisis, there were at least eighteen. A few of the old organizations that catered to special groups or performed a particular function still existed in 1971, and new ones of this type have been formed. Such groups are sponsored by the KSC or one of the mass organizations. For example, the Lenin Youth Clubs are organized for the sole purpose of studying Lenin and his writings, and most of their members are also members of one or more of the mass organizations.

Party leaders say that all of the eighteen or so independent youth organizations of early 1968 were concerned with the relation of young people to the party, but their ideas on that relationship varied. The Union of Youth, the largest of the older organizations, appeared to be conservative, and its vows stated that its members would serve "with all their young efforts, enthusiasm, and capabilities toward maximum consolidation and further development of socialism in the country"; but its leaders were believed to have been attempting to keep alive the spirit of the liberalizing movement of early 1968—the so-called Prague Spring—and it was disbanded.

University groups have been difficult to regiment. The pre-1968 Union of University Students was one of the more liberal organizations in the country. The Association of University Students that replaced it after the 1968 crisis also fell from grace, after less than a year of existence, when it refused to associate itself with the National Front. The Union of University Students, as it was reorganized in 1970, is part of the Socialist Youth Union. Its relationship was made binding at that time to discourage it from attempting independence from or having policies at variance with those of its parent organization.

According to its statute, membership in the Socialist Youth Union is voluntary for any young person fifteen years of age or older who will take its oath to contribute to the creation and defense of the socialist homeland. The statute goes on to state that its members recognize the leading role of the KSC and support it by learning its policies and goals, seeking active participation in the implementation of its

policies, creating conditions by which the best of the members may become members of the party, submitting youth problems and proposals for dealing with them to the party, and participating in the activities of international socialist youth organizations. The organization maintains work and study quotas studies and adheres to the Marxist-Leninist ideology, and trains its members in what it describes as proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism.

A member may resign by personal decision. His membership may be terminated if he fails to participate in the organization's activities or does not fulfill his obligations toward it. He may be expelled if he deliberately harms the honor or interests of the union or violates its statutes.

The union has its basic units in factories, villages, construction sites, towns, schools and universities, and the armed forces. Each unit must have at least five members. The organization in the armed forces is separate and follows that of the military establishment. The remainder of the union is organized parallel to the government of the country. Each district, regional, republic, and federal level of the organization has a presidium with a chairman, a vice chairman, and a secretary. Those at republic and federal level are called the supreme executive organs.

The organization has not met its membership goals. Of the approximately 5.6 million youths in the six-to-thirty age group that was eligible for membership in 1970, the Socialist Youth Union claimed about 300,000 members, and the Pioneers had about 500,000. Failure of the young to join has also made the average age of the members higher than desirable for a youth group. Many have joined only because they have felt that membership was a passport to better jobs and, because that opinion has been widely held, a sizable group has resisted joining on principle. According to party spokesmen, during the early 1960s young people showed a desire for more privacy, a lack of interest in political involvement, and indifference to political problems. Many resisted the political and public activities expected of them, and the party lost much of its authority over their generation. In early 1968 young persons joined the Prague Spring movements enthusiastically.

The party has, according to its analysis, recognized the situation and has attempted to become a symbol of authority for the young, winning them through an exchange of views and providing them room for participation in local affairs and administration. Understanding their needs and interests, it has given priority to their needs in order to become a consistent and leading force on their behalf. The party does not intend to encourage the youth of the country to develop without political and ideological leadership and guidance. It has applied coercive pressures to bring university groups into line, but it also tries persuasion to win over the youth organizations.

The Pioneer Organization is for children aged six to fifteen. Pioneer groups are sponsored and supported by the Socialist Youth Union, and activities include scouting and organized recreation as well as indoctrination. Members move into the older groups at age fifteen.

Youth union groups in the armed forces arrange the organized recreation and sports and much of the political indoctrination and educational programs. Factory groups have an active athletic program, and in 1971 there were 740 factory teams engaged in various youth union competitions. Factory groups also work to attain production goals and, as during the fiftieth anniversary KSC celebrations, in working extra hours of overtime.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

Courts

Justice in civil and criminal cases for the general population is handed down by local, district, and regional courts and by the federal Supreme Court. Depending upon importance, cases may be initiated at any level in the system, and decisions of lower courts may, within specified limits, be appealed to higher courts (see ch. 6, Governmental System).

A judge or panel of judges presides over each trial. On typical district and regional courts professional judges, who have had formal legal training, are flanked by larger numbers of lay judges. The lay judges, who serve an average of twelve days per year, fulfill the function of jurors, except that they have an active role in the entire trial procedure not merely in the determination of guilt or innocence.

Lay judges are selected by national committees of the KSC at the same level as the court. District committees choose the lay judges for district courts, for example. The numbers selected vary with the size and population of the area, but throughout the country there are nearly 1,500 professional judges and perhaps ten times as many lay judges.

The courts' function as a deterrent to crime is considered vital to the party, but it is seen to be a continuing effort, with changes in court conduct or severity of sentences unlikely to be reflected in the crime rate for a considerable time. According to party doctrine the role of the courts is not an independent one; they are organs of the state designed to interpret and enforce its laws. Spokesmen for the Central Association of Czechoslovak Attorneys have said that the laws and the courts constitute adequate legal guarantees for citizens' basic rights. They add, however, that civil rights are not solely a question of legal norms. The extent and effectiveness of observing legal

guarantees depend upon the general atmosphere and on the amount of political rights.

Local courts, comprised entirely of laymen, have succeeded the people's or comrades' courts that existed until 1961. There are large numbers of them—formed in small towns, factories, enterprises, or collectives—with many in the larger cities. They deal with minor crimes, arbitrate personal disputes, and ordinarily levy such punishments as small fines extra work quotas, or some restriction on movement or conduct. Their cases are not included in crime rate statistics, and their decisions are not ordinarily appealed.

Although the trend since the 1968 crisis has been to restore the authority of the party and to tighten security measures, rehabilitation trials have continued. These trials accelerated after a report compiled by a commission in the early months of 1968 suggested that thousands of persons arrested during the purge period that extended from 1949 into the early 1950s had been sentenced summarily or on inadequate evidence.

Rehabilitation trial courts reexamine the original charges and what evidence is still available and, in most instances, have commuted the sentence or absolved the individual altogether. Nearly all of the trials have involved persons who have died or who have long since served out their sentences, but they serve to clear family names.

Defending against allegations that an excessive number of persons may still be brought before the courts merely for voicing opinions or agitating in favor of impermissible ideological beliefs, the regime denies that there have been political trials since the 1950 period. Individuals may be punished for a broad spectrum of crimes against the state, but most of those described in the code are economic crimes and minor offenses, such as disturbing the peace and public order. Unless an investigation has shown reasonably conclusively that a person has committed an indictable offense, authorities claim that he should not be brought to trial.

Penal Code

A new federal criminal code has been published in conformance with a law enacted by the National Assembly on November 29, 1969. Part of the code was new, but the changes were more for the purpose of incorporating modifications enacted over the preceding several years than introducing basically different legal or procedural concepts. In 1971 several people were convicted and sentenced for writing antiregime or anti-Soviet statements—an indication that citizens remained subject to the dictates of the party hierarchy despite legal codes and guarantees of civil rights.

Among its general provisions the criminal code states that a person will not be prosecuted except for crimes established as such in law

and will not be considered guilty until he has been adjudged by competent authority. An accused may select his attorney and consult with him. If detained, except in special circumstances, he is allowed to speak to his attorney privately. During his trial he may not be prohibited from making statements on all the charges and evidence brought against him; he may describe circumstances, submit proofs, and make motions in his defense.

According to law the accused is informed of his rights during his investigation, detention, and trial at appropriate times. Proceedings of the trial are conducted in his language and in a manner deserving to his educational background or his ability to understand the court processes. Only evidence submitted during the trial can be considered during determination of the verdict and sentence.

During investigation and trial, prosecutors and courts are required to cooperate with social organizations. Organizations concerned would be those interested in the type of crime or the defendant or those that would benefit from educational aspects of the case. Court sessions are generally open to the public, partly to assure the people that justice is dispensed and partly because the resultant publicity is believed to have a deterrent effect on crime. Labor unions, in particular, are encouraged to perform their own investigations if one of their members is on trial and, on the basis of his reputation, propose guarantees for reforming him. A court receives such a proposal in the main trial hearing and takes it into consideration when deciding upon the sentence.

Pretrial detention is regulated in detail. A person caught in the act of committing a crime can be detained by anyone. If a private citizen apprehends a suspect, he turns him over to authorities as soon as possible. Ordinarily, police are given forty eight hours to determine whether there is sufficient evidence upon which to base formal charges. If charges are preferred, an individual may then be detained for two months before his trial. This period may be extended if exceptional circumstances delay the investigation or preparation of the case. Detention is usually decided upon if the accused person is believed likely to go into hiding or otherwise to evade the trial, if he might attempt to influence witnesses or codefendants, or if he might engage in further criminal activities before the trial.

Verdict is reached by a majority vote of the judges. They vote in closed session, but each votes orally. Lay judges vote first, the junior of the professional judges votes next, and the senior judge votes last. Record of the individual voting is kept in a sealed envelope that is opened only on review of the case and is never made public.

Sentences specified under the code tend to be relatively more severe for crimes committed against the state or against state property than for crimes against the person or against private

property. The death penalty, although it is seldom carried out, is allowed for a sizable group of antistate crimes but for very few others.

Records of trial proceedings are kept, and verdicts may be appealed. Convicted persons initiate the greatest number of appeals, but the prosecutor may do so if he discovers an error in the transcript that he thinks should be corrected or if there is some error in the court's use of material that has legally been presented to it. An injured party may appeal if he wishes to claim additional damages, and a person who has lost property or has had property confiscated by reason of the crime or his trial may seek a more favorable settlement.

A petition by the president of the republic may temporarily stop criminal proceedings against a person before he is tried, may grant pardon or amnesty to a convicted person unconditionally, or may pardon him subject to certain conditions. In the event of conditional pardons or of parole that can be authorized by lesser authorities, the court passing sentence observes the individual released to determine if he is complying with the stipulations to his release.

Among the basic civil rights set down in law and usually respected by the police are inviolability of personal freedom, of the home, and of correspondence. Civil rights are waived in certain circumstances—drunken persons are detained, homes are searched by warrant, and correspondence of persons under investigation in serious criminal cases is intercepted, for example—and the police may take measures that they deem necessary to protect society as a whole. The use of wiretapping and electronic listening devices is not authorized in specific laws, nor is it prohibited.

A person may be held twenty-four hours to establish his identity or for such offenses as breach of peace or violation of public order. An arrested person is entitled to a defense attorney after the investigation of his alleged offense is completed and after he is informed of the charges against him. He cannot be held legally, however, for more than forty-eight hours without being charged.

Crime

The crime rate has increased since 1960, slowly during the first part of the decade, more rapidly between about 1965 and 1968, and quite drastically in 1968 and 1969. The rate of increase slowed in 1970, and in the Prague area the trend appeared possibly to have reversed. The countrywide rate was worse than in 1969, however, and some categories of crime, particularly crimes of violence, were up in nearly all sections, including Prague. Statistics showed that more crimes were being committed by youthful offenders, which was of particular concern to officials.

Ministry of the Interior spokesmen blame the increase, which is unique for the East European communist countries, partly on the

allegation that Czechoslovakia has continually been the leading target of the subversive centers in the West and also on the lack of party and governmental control within the country during the 1960s, which spokesmen asserted precipitated the crisis of 1968. The lack of control, they state, stemmed from the fact that security forces were too small for their tasks, and various factors worked against maintaining ideological constancy and singleness of purpose among the people. A portion of the blame is directed at television programs and books that tended to make heroes of criminal characters.

The pattern of crime has also undergone change. Crimes of violence, crimes against private and state property, and crimes committed while under the influence of alcohol or drugs have increased. Most of the increase in automobile thefts and related crimes is attributable to the rapidly growing numbers of motor vehicles.

Youthful criminals cause most concern to the authorities. The number and seriousness of their offenses have steadily increased, and the average age at which crimes have been committed has been lower. Many of the more vicious crimes and crimes against human dignity are committed by gangs of young people. Security officials state that gangs show a total disregard for the value of property and frequently engage in wanton destruction. The use of alcohol and drugs by young people has increased.

Officials blame most of the youth crime problem on the alienation of youth, failure of the various party organizations and social programs to attract and orient them, and the subsequent deterioration in their morale and motivation. Rehabilitation of the youthful criminal is difficult. If he returns to his old environment and associates, he almost invariably resumes his former antisocial practices. A percentage of youths inducted into the armed forces appeared to show signs of permanent rehabilitation, but in 1971 the recidivism rate among young criminals was estimated at about 40 percent.

National leaders are also alarmed at the extent to which criminal activity has affected the economy, claiming that corruption and blackmarketing have become rampant. Most of this type of crime consists of some redirection of goods or services for personal profit. Scarce commodities, such as automobiles, are distributed to persons who pay bribes. Accommodations in a sizable number of the country's hotels and boarding houses were found to be controlled by a ring that siphoned off large profits.

As the quality of goods produced in the country has improved and as the people have become more prosperous, smuggling, both into and out of the country, has become more common. Quality merchandise is most frequently smuggled from the country. Forbidden literature and music, quality textiles, ladies' hosiery, automobile parts, watches and

jewelry, antiques, gold coins, foreign stamps and paper money, drugs, and pornography are the items most frequently imported illegally. Of about 10,250 smuggling offenses detected in 1970, 57 percent were import violations. These were almost equally divided between currency and customs offenses.

To combat crimes, nearly all of the spokesmen for the post-1968 regime have emphasized a need for effort in three directions. First, they say that the party and social organizations must become more active and influential and must involve a greater percentage of the population in activities that tend to stabilize the society. Also, they state that the small security forces need augmentation. More full-time police are needed, and the auxiliaries should be expanded and should work on more routine police tasks. Finally, punishments for criminal acts need revision. Penalties for crimes against the state are described as adequately strict, but those for crimes against the person and private property are not sufficient to have a deterrent effect. Long prison terms are not authorized and, as a result, courts frequently hand down the death penalty; and although the condemned are almost never executed, such sentencing ensures longer periods of imprisonment.

Penal Institutions

According to introductory statements in the 1969 regulations relating to criminal punishment, individuals are sentenced to confinement in order to prevent further criminal activity and in order to rehabilitate them so that they may live and work in cooperation with the productive elements of society after their release. Prison authorities are directed to educate prisoners systematically and not to cause humiliation or to damage their human dignity. Convicts receive job training and cultural education.

Prisons are officially referred to as correctional-educational institutions and are controlled and administered by the Ministry of Justice in each republic. It is claimed that no confinement areas of the type usually referred to as labor or internment camps have been used since the 1950s. Various state organs other than the justice ministries are required to assist in prison activities, and party and social organizations have related projects that are usually in the interests of prisoner rehabilitation.

All convicts are assigned regular work. Working hours, conditions, and regulations are the same as those for the rest of society. The pay is also the same, but deductions of many types may be specified. The portion remaining is divided between pocket money and savings. Savings may be used only to support a family or to discharge other obligations. Cultural and educational projects must be participated in

and are conducted outside of working hours. Prison libraries maintain a prescribed group of books and publications.

Correspondence is censored and is limited to the inmate's family, unless there are valid reasons for other contacts. Visits are also limited to the family except in special circumstances.

In the event a convict displays exceptional behavior, is urgently needed by his family, or has sufficient medical reasons, his sentence may be interrupted or terminated. He may also be released up to six months early by volunteering for military duty. This is a conditional release but, if he serves without incident in the armed forces, the unserved prison sentence is canceled. If a convict has complaints or wishes his situation to be reviewed, his communication to an attorney or an appropriate party or governmental organ is forwarded without delay.

Less alienated convicts serve their sentences in the less stringent of two prison regimes. Rights, privileges, and limits on behavior vary considerably between the regimes, but all inmates are entitled by regulation to eight hours' sleep, an hour a day of outdoor exercise, time and facilities for personal hygiene, and medical care. Convict behavior can mean transfer between the regimes, in either direction.

Uncooperative inmates may receive disciplinary punishments and, if moderate forms of extra discipline do not achieve the results intended, a man may receive from six to twenty-four months of intensive confinement. He is then denied pocket money and parcels altogether and may see only selected reading matter, and his correspondence is subject to added restrictions.

Juveniles between fifteen and eighteen years of age are always kept apart from adult prisoners. Rehabilitation is given extra emphasis with this group. Their discipline is somewhat less severe, and they have added privileges. If they do not respond favorably to the more flexible treatment, however, more severe disciplinary measures can be authorized, but for only two months at a time.

Prison guards are members of the Correctional Education Corps, until 1969 known as the Prison Guard Corps, and are administered by the republic ministries of justice. Guards may use their firearms in self-defense and in certain other prescribed situations.

CHAPTER 13

ARMED FORCES

The armed forces, administered by the Ministry of National Defense in 1971, included ground and air forces and frontier and internal guards. Air force and guard units were integrated within the National People's Army, although they operated independently in many respects.

Men in these services constituted about 9 percent of the physically fit manpower of military age, and defense appropriations amounted to about 5.5 percent of the national income. Basic personnel requirements were met by universal conscription, and a mandatory tour of military service averaging about two years was required of youths upon reaching age eighteen.

Regular ground and air force units formed an integral part of the Warsaw Pact defense system, the communist counterpart to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Frontier and interior guard units would perform wartime tasks in cooperation with the regular forces, but their peacetime operations were concerned primarily with normal police and internal security affairs.

As part of the liberalizing movement in Czechoslovakia, which reached its peak in early 1968, the broad questions of possible employment and justification of force strengths were discussed at great length in the press and other media. Probably because universal conscription had meant that a term of military service was a part of national existence for as long as the people could remember, however, the services and the individual soldier have been accepted and approved by the population at large.

The willingness of the regular forces to perform against a common Warsaw Pact enemy has not been seriously questioned, but during 1968 they did not join the pact's effort involving Czechoslovakia's internal affairs. Since 1968 the country's political and governmental leadership has attempted, with all means at its disposal, to improve the forces' reliability to the point where they could be depended upon to defend the regime, whether or not it had popular support, in the event of further internal crises.

Since Soviet army divisions have remained in Czechoslovakia from the original Warsaw Pact armies that entered the country in August 1968 (see ch. 2, Historical Setting), they have been retained in accordance with an agreement that describes their mission as

temporary. They bolster the pact's forces countering NATO, but they have been primarily committed to the support of the Czechoslovak leadership and have been prepared to act in concert with, or independently from, Czechoslovak armed forces if internal order cannot otherwise be maintained.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Czechoslovak military forces have been in existence, except for the period of German occupation of the country during World War II, since 1918. The first armed forces after national independence were formed around officers and noncommissioned officers from the defeated and dismantled Austro-Hungarian army (see ch. 3, Historical Setting). The earliest ground force units were formed in 1918; the air forces date their existence from 1920. Little of their tradition, however, is based on their histories before 1945, as they were formed again after World War II.

During the 1939-45 German occupation, most resistance was passive. Procrastination and affected incompetence were more commonly practiced than sabotage, and there was little organized armed resistance until late in the war. Most of the organized bands were in Slovak regions; a few more loosely organized groups operated during the last days in and around Prague. Prague was entered by Soviet armies on May 9, 1945—their entry having been prearranged by agreement of the wartime leadership of the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union (see ch. 3, Historical Setting).

Agreements reached between Soviet and Czechoslovak representatives at Kosice in 1945 provided for ground, air, and air defense forces organized on the Soviet model, and substantial efforts to develop them began shortly thereafter. The post-World War II Ministry of National Defense was established at that time, and various service units were reactivated.

The forces experienced several difficult years in the postwar period. The first new personnel assignment policies attempted to further the unification of the country by stationing Czech units in Slovakia and Slovak units in Czech lands. Because of inadequate housing, separation of families, and friction between military personnel and the civil population, many officers and noncommissioned officers resigned.

During the same unsettled period the reliability of the Slovak military leadership became suspect. Because they had been instrumental in most of the wartime resistance, had been sympathetic with the Soviet Union, and were not averse to communist ideology, these Slovak officers felt that the accusations directed against them were a bitter reward for their efforts. Purges and resignations after

1948 eliminated so many of them that their influence in the military establishment was broken for many years. There were few officer volunteers from the area, and the imbalance between Czech and Slovak nationals in the services still persisted in 1971.

Although the air and air defense forces claim an existence since 1920, they also celebrate September 17, 1944, as the birth date of the modern force. That date commemorates the formation of a fighter regiment in the Soviet Union manned by Czechoslovak personnel who had managed to escape from their Nazi-dominated homeland. There were few aircraft in any air units in Czechoslovakia for several years after the first postwar unit was organized, and it was not until the Soviet Union started to supply jet fighters in 1951 that the force began to develop a combat capability. The earliest air defense units were activated in 1951 and were deployed to operational stations the following year.

Czechoslovakia became one of the original Warsaw Pact members in 1955, and the most concerted effort in the development of its modern armed forces was undertaken during the few years thereafter. As a proportion of the total national expenditures, for example, the 1955 military outlay was approximately double what it has been since the mid-1960s. The development of strong indigenous forces, dedicated to the Warsaw Pact mission, was given great emphasis because of Czechoslovakia's strategic location.

At the time of the intervention into the country's internal affairs in August 1968, the Soviet Union committed between 300,000 and 400,000 (often estimated at up to 600,000) troops to the invasion. The actual invasion force probably numbered about 150,000 men in fourteen or fifteen divisions, with many more poised at the borders to be used if needed. Token elements from the Hungarian, East German, Bulgarian, and Polish armies also participated. Soviet forces accomplished nearly all of the tactical operations; the other national forces were present to illustrate pact solidarity. The intervention met only passive resistance from the people and none whatever from the armed forces.

From an ideological standpoint, or for a role in defense of the system against popular resistance to it, neither the Soviet Union nor the Czechoslovak leadership has been totally satisfied with the reliability of the regular military forces at any time since World War II. Police and security forces under the Ministry of the Interior, rather than the regular armed services, figured in the communist coup d'etat in 1948. After the 1968 invasion the Soviet Union deemed it necessary to maintain its own forces in the country on a temporary basis, to be withdrawn when Czechoslovak forces could be relied upon to provide adequate security for the regime. In mid-1971, however, several thousand Soviet troops were still garrisoned in Czechoslovakia.

GOVERNMENTAL AND PARTY CONTROL OVER THE ARMED FORCES

The president of the republic is titular head of the defense establishment and the commander in chief of all its forces, although he has little direct influence over fundamental military policies. Command authority over defense and security organizations that is exercised in his name does not require his personal concurrence. He can, however, attend and preside at meetings of the Council of Defense. He may propose defense measures at these meetings and request the council to report on the actions it takes in reference to his proposals.

The Council of Defense, which is also frequently referred to as the State Defense Council, exercises topmost control over national defense and security organizations. It formulates their fundamental policies and determines the proportion of the national effort that can be allocated to their support. The council, created in a constitutional law of January 31, 1969, has seven to nine members, including its chairman and deputy chairman. The new council was made responsible to the Federal Assembly, but effective party control over its activities is assured by the drawing of its members from the highest ranking party leadership.

According to the original statute the council evaluates the international obligations of the country and the threats to its security in consideration of the existing internal and international situation. Based upon this evaluation it determines the basic concept of the defense system and the armed forces, determines the proportion of the country's economic effort that is required to support the desired defense establishment, approves the concept of the operational plans for defense of the country, proposes the administrative measures necessary for control of the population and the economy in time of war, varies the state of readiness in terms of the threat to the state, and in wartime approves civil defense measures and makes decisions as to the conduct of the war.

The Ministry of National Defense is the governmental body with direct administrative and operational responsibility for the armed forces. It establishes, equips, and trains their various branches in the fashion necessary to comply with the broader directives of the Council of Ministers and the Council of Defense. It apportions the defense appropriations among the service branches and prepares the basic operational plans that they accomplish in normal training operations and also those that they would implement in time of war (see ch. 6, Governmental System).

The minister of national defense is responsible to the premier who, although nominally responsible to the president, is the effective head of government. Although the minister has primarily a civil position,

he assumes a military rank superior to any in the services he oversees and commands the forces during a few of their major combined training exercises and multinational maneuvers.

National defense is a federal responsibility, and the Czech and Slovak republics do not have ministries of defense. Each of them does have a defense council, but the members are appointed and recalled by the chairman of the federal Council of Defense.

Effective party domination of the military establishment is assured by the placement of high KSC officials in positions of control over the Ministry of National Defense. In 1970 the president of the republic and the chairman of the Council of Ministers were members of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the KSC. In addition, the chairman of the Council of Defense was the first secretary of the KSC, and three other of its members were also Presidium members. A fifth council member was a secretary—although not a voting member—of the Presidium, serving, however, to give that body a clear majority on the Council of Defense. Within the Ministry of National Defense, the minister and the chief of the Main Political Directorate were members of the KSC Central Committee, but no one in the ministry was a member of its Presidium.

Political officers, subordinate to the Main Political Directorate of the Ministry of National Defense, are assigned to all major units in the armed forces. Their service organizations parallel those of the tactical units and are an integral part of them. Political officers for the military services were provided by the Klement Gottwald Military-Political Academy in Prague from 1954 until the academy was abolished in 1969 and, since that time, they have been trained by the military-political faculty of the Antonin Zapotocky Military Academy in Bratislava.

The party organization, particularly its youth groups, is also established within all levels and in all branches of the military services. All or nearly all of the higher ranking officers are party members; young officers and noncommissioned officers are usually members of one or more of the mass organizations fostered by the party, and conscripts are encouraged to join such groups. Ideological training, including Marxist-Leninist philosophy and party attitudes on current situations, constitutes a regular portion of the training program. Effectiveness of the new measures undertaken since 1968 could not be ascertained by mid-1971.

ORGANIZATION AND MISSION OF THE ARMED FORCES

With a few local variations, the Czechoslovak military establishment is patterned after that of the Soviet Union and is similar to those of the other Warsaw Pact members. All forces are

integrated, and the minister of national defense is the tactical and administrative chief of the National People's Army. In the administrative organization beneath him are a general staff; an inspector general; a main political directorate; and main directorates for the ground forces, air and air defense forces, rear services (logistics), and frontier and interior guards. In 1970 the minister of national defense took the rank of colonel general; the heads of the main directorates and equivalent staff organizations were major generals or lieutenant generals.

The total personnel on active duty in the regular military services in 1971 was between 175,000 and 200,000. The ground forces have by far the largest share--over 80 percent. Air and air defense forces have about 10 percent. The remainder are in the frontier and interior guards, mostly in frontier units.

The country is divided into military districts whose headquarters deal primarily with ground force and support units. The forces are separated tactically into the four service organizations: the ground forces, air and air defense forces, frontier guards, and interior guards; and the men in each of them identify with their tactical service. Air force and guard units are able to keep large percentages of their men in tactical units because they draw upon supply and support agencies, almost all of which are manned by guard forces personnel.

The armed forces' mission is to defend the country, fulfill its Warsaw Pact obligations, and support the country's police in the event of serious internal disorders. Military spokesmen purport to believe that the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) constitutes a threat to the country's integrity that it wishes to adjust its boundary with Czechoslovakia, and that it might try to do so by force. The Warsaw Pact mission is described as securing the peace in Europe and maintaining the solidarity of the pact. Internal disorders that would merit augmentation of the police would include any that endangered the socialist society or the organizational machinery that controls it. The country is located at a point where early contact would occur in a struggle between Warsaw Pact and NATO forces, and its forward position makes it strategically important from the standpoint of air warning and air defense.

Ground Forces

The ground forces are commonly referred to as "the army" as, in fact, they would be in a system where the services were separate and independent. In the Czechoslovak establishment they are by far the largest and most important of the services. Their officers hold most of the higher staff positions and their miscellaneous units provide the common support services that are required by all of the branches of the National People's Army.

The main strength of the ground forces is in five tank divisions, eight motorized rifle divisions, and two airborne brigades. The division is the basic tactical unit. A few are maintained at only cadre strength, with perhaps 30 percent of their personnel. The others are not full strength, probably averaging about 70 percent of their full personnel complement. Combat units, therefore, account for less than two-thirds of the approximately 150,000 men that are assigned to the ground forces. The others are in the various headquarters and support units.

To facilitate combat support and coordination of the multinational Warsaw Pact forces, Czechoslovak units are patterned after those in the Soviet army, as are those of the other pact members. Typical tank divisions in the pact's armies have one artillery regiment, one motorized rifle regiment, and three tank regiments. Motorized rifle divisions have one tank, one artillery, and three motorized rifle regiments. At full strength, a motorized rifle division has approximately 11,000 men; a tank division has about 9,000.

Of the ground forces' approximately 3,400 tanks, about 1,500 are in the active tank divisions. The motorized rifle divisions have fewer tanks in each division but, because there are more of them, they have approximately as many tanks as there are in the tank divisions. About 500 of those in the tank divisions are Soviet-built heavy tanks. Most of the main battle tanks are the medium T-55s, although some of the later model T-62 types have been introduced. They are also manufactured in the Soviet Union. Nearly all World War II and first generation postwar models have been phased out.

Quality and quantities of other armament and materiel in the ground forces are on a par with their tanks, and no non-Soviet forces in Eastern Europe are better equipped. Much of the other equipment is manufactured in Czechoslovakia, and some is furnished to other Warsaw Pact armies.

The degree to which, or the circumstances in which Czechoslovak ground forces would perform reliably has been the subject of much discussion. Most Western observers believe that combat units have good personnel and are adequately trained and that they would uphold their share of Czechoslovakia's obligations in an engagement between Warsaw Pact and NATO forces. Many of the same observers, however, cite the continued presence of Soviet forces in the land as indication that Soviet officials, at least, doubt the Czech forces' reliability if they were to be used against their own people in support of an unpopular regime. Whether they would serve willingly in an intervention in another Warsaw Pact nation in a situation similar to that which occurred in their own country in August 1968 is also subject to question.

Air and Air Defense Forces

The chief of the air and air defense forces is a deputy minister of national defense. As such, he shares the highest peacetime military rank—other than that of the minister—with only a few other officers. His forces are a part of the National People's Army and are administered by the General Staff, as are those of the other regular military services. This command and organizational arrangement permits a degree of operational autonomy for the service but assures its integration within the overall military establishment.

After those of the Soviet Union and Poland, the Czechoslovak air forces are the largest and best equipped of the Warsaw Pact members. Primary combat aircraft consist of about 600 fighters and fighter bombers, of which slightly more than one-half are fighter bombers for support of ground forces. These include some obsolescent MiG-15s and MiG-17s, but about 150 of them are Su-7s. All are manufactured in the Soviet Union, and the Su-7 is among the more modern of Soviet aircraft designs.

Except for a few MiG-17s, aircraft for the air intercept role consist of higher performance MiG-19 and MiG-21 types. The older MiG-17s are equipped for interception in poor visibility conditions and at night. They would be used against invading bombers rather than in aerial combat with other fighters.

Miscellaneous aircraft include about 65 transports, 100 helicopters, and some 300 trainers. A portion of the helicopters train for ground support; others augment transport planes and carry airborne troops on short distance operations. The number of transports available could not perform the usual administrative and logistic support functions and provide more than a bare minimum capability to move airborne forces.

Most of the air force's training facilities are located around, or are supervised by, the Advanced Air Force Training Center at Kosice in eastern Slovakia, established in 1946. Since about 1950 it has developed an extensive range of advanced pilot and mechanical and electronic maintenance training programs.

Air defenses include aircraft detection and surveillance stations and antiaircraft artillery and surface-to-air missile units. Most of the surveillance stations are located at high vantage points on the northwestern and southwestern borders of Bohemia, where their early warning radars would be the first to detect aircraft approaching the Warsaw Pact nations from the southwest.

Units in remote mountain areas are frequently undermanned and, because they are allocated personnel from among the group of young conscripts, they have a large percentage of inadequately trained men. As a result, the men who are well trained work long hours and find it

difficult to take the amounts of leave and holiday time that they are authorized. Housing at some stations is substandard.

Antiaircraft artillery units usually have roles in the defense of military formations or targets that might be attacked by low-flying aircraft. Surface-to-air missiles have a better capability against high-flying aircraft and are usually responsible for city and outer perimeter defenses. Missile units use the standard Soviet-designed two-stage missile, but the missile, or some of its components, may be manufactured locally.

Frontier Guards

During most of their existence before 1965, frontier guard units were subordinate to the Ministry of the Interior. A resolution of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the KSC in 1965 transferred them to the Ministry of National Defense, and they have since been placed within the National People's Army, organizationally parallel with the air and air defense forces. The Presidium resolution redefined the role of the guards stating, in effect, that, in addition to their peacetime responsibilities along the borders of the country, in wartime they would take on special tasks in conjunction with ground force units.

Units are located around the periphery of the country. They are spaced closely enough so that transportation of men to guard posts and patrol sectors does not involve an inordinate amount of time. In mountainous areas posts may be isolated, and living conditions resemble those at similarly located air defense stations.

Heavily defended land frontiers may have a pattern of double fencing, a carefully raked or undisturbed cleared strip, minefields and guard towers with searchlights and machinegun mounts. There may be walking patrols with dogs, and these may be augmented by vehicle patrols. Other areas are unfenced and less heavily patrolled.

People living in border areas frequently assist the guards, either freely and voluntarily or as informers who receive rewards if they contribute to the apprehension of an individual attempting to cross the border illegally. Several hundred Pioneers have also been organized into a group called the Young Guards of the Border. The group apparently developed spontaneously. Children became interested in the border patrols out of curiosity or from acquaintance with individual guards. The guards became aware that children quickly noticed strangers in their home areas and could be persuaded to report them.

The portion of the Hungarian border demarcated by the Danube River is controlled by river guards. They wear a distinctive uniform in which the dark-blue color and the styling are more like navy than army uniforms. Most of their patrolling is from various types of

launches and patrol boats, some of which are equipped with radar and infrared night-seeing devices.

Individual guards are screened for reliability because their duty along the borders offers opportunity for defection, and political officers are assigned throughout the organization. Units, however, are usually below authorized personnel strengths, and the men work long hours. Clothing and small arms are excellent, but there is frequently insufficient time for training with heavier weapons or for their maintenance.

Interior Guards

A sizable force of interior guards was maintained for several years after the communist regime came to power in 1948 to maintain order and to support the regime. With the passing of time the guard force has been substantially reduced in size. The men that remain with it are probably the most reliable personnel in the armed forces. Little information on guard units is published, and none of it indicates that there is dissatisfaction, dissension, or concern within the force about the conditions of the service or its mission.

In 1965 the KSC Central Committee Presidium resolution that transferred the frontier guards also transferred the interior guards from the Ministry of the Interior to the Ministry of National Defense. From that time until mid-1971, the guards, like all other full-time military units, have been subordinate to the National People's Army.

FOREIGN MILITARY RELATIONS

Warsaw Pact

Czechoslovakia has entered into bilateral friendship treaties with each of the other Warsaw Pact members. The treaties vary in length and tone—the one with the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) being shorter and more perfunctory than that with Hungary, for example—but substantively they are all similar. They pledge mutual assistance, military and economic cooperation, and cultural exchanges. All of the regular Czechoslovak force units are integrated into the common pact force, and all have primarily a pact mission. Czechoslovak military doctrine envisages that their most likely large-scale employment would be in concert with the Warsaw Pact allies.

Czechoslovak forces are a part of the northern tier of the pact's defensive establishment, and in 1971 they constituted thirteen of the thirty-four divisions that made up its non-Soviet element. They also constituted a considerably greater per capita manpower contribution than was provided by either Poland or East Germany—

Czechoslovakia's Eastern European allies in the defense of their combined area.

Another of its primary contributions to the pact has been the westward extension of its air defense and warning network. Stations in the western part of the country would be the first to have an opportunity to detect aircraft flying eastward from NATO bases.

Soviet Forces in Czechoslovakia

Of the Soviet troops that entered Czechoslovakia on or shortly after August 21, 1968, six or seven divisions, totaling about 60,000 to 80,000 men, remained in 1971. The earliest of a variety of agreements relating to this force was negotiated between Soviet authorities and Czechoslovak representatives who were working under the pressures resulting from the military occupation of their country that had taken place less than one week earlier. At that time the Czechoslovaks agreed to stay in the Warsaw Pact alliance and to continue to fulfill their obligations to it, to strengthen their ties with the Soviet Union, to stop the creation and circulation of anti-Soviet propaganda in the country, and to take measures to strengthen the leading role of the party in the National People's Army (see ch. 8, Foreign Relations).

Later treaties have set down more detailed terms under which the forces would be supported and controlled. Treaties concluded during February 1969 described the services to be provided by Czechoslovakia to Soviet-occupied installations and the legal organs that would handle the personal and property problems that might arise. Services provided by the Czechoslovaks include base facilities, housing, utilities, construction required to modify or add to existing facilities, foodstuffs, and arrangements to use road and rail transportation and wire communications channels. Soviet forces pay for nearly all provisions and services, but certain permanent facilities constructed for them will be sold back to Czechoslovakia if they can be used by its forces after Soviet troops are withdrawn from the country.

Detailed legal arrangements include definition of the parameters of Soviet and Czechoslovak jurisdiction and the various legal services each side is obligated to provide when needed. In general, the agreement states that each country may have access to anything it may ask from the other's police or legal system, but each metes out justice to its own personnel according to its own codes and practices.

Although all treaties and agreements related to the stationing of Soviet forces on Czechoslovak territory refer to them as being in the country on a temporary basis, there were no indications in mid-1971 that the Soviet Union considered that the need for the troops had diminished or that a time for their withdrawal had been set. The formal treaty of friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance that

has been renewed periodically over nearly thirty years was revised and signed again in mid-1970. It pledges the closest cooperation between the two countries to defend Czechoslovak borders and guarantees cooperation in the event of an attack against Czechoslovakia. Although the document taken in isolation may seem to be a further justification for the presence of the occupying forces, the treaty is little different from earlier versions or from the similar treaties between all of the Warsaw Pact members.

Czechoslovak military and political leaders rationalize the continued presence of, and requirement for, Soviet troops in their country as reflecting an evaluation of the situation in central Europe and in the world that has been arrived at jointly by the leadership of the Warsaw Pact nations. In view of that evaluation, as of mid-1971 a Soviet force withdrawal could not be anticipated. Czechoslovak spokesmen emphasize that the Soviet Union has guaranteed the sovereignty of their country and that its forces in their land are subject to the legal codes of the country.

Relations between Soviet troops and the Czechoslovaks are reasonably good, but resentments surface at times and incidents occur occasionally. When a Czechoslovak hockey team defeated a Soviet team on March 28, 1969, in a game that was particularly important to the extremely enthusiastic Czechoslovak sports fans, spontaneous celebrations in a number of cities resulted in what the official press termed "undignified incidents damaging to the prospects for improved understanding between the two countries."

From the Czechoslovak forces' standpoint, certain inconveniences have arisen from the addition of the large body of Soviet troops to already marginally adequate military installations. The chronic housing shortage for married officers and noncommissioned officers, for example, was worsened considerably.

MANPOWER, TRAINING, AND SUPPORT

Manpower

In 1971 the military age group comprised about 3.25 million men between the ages of eighteen and fifty. Three-quarters of the total, or nearly 2.5 million, were considered physically and otherwise fit for military service. Of the roughly 130,000 who reached the draft age of eighteen years (the age considered the peak of good health) during 1970, over 100,000 were available to the armed forces.

The services acquire the bulk of their personnel by conscription, as authorized in defense acts originally enacted in 1949 and amended in 1958 and 1968. Before 1968 the entire annual group was inducted in the autumn; since that time there have been draft calls in the spring

as well. The basic tour of conscript duty is two years but, to avail themselves of special training or job experience opportunities, conscripts may select options requiring them to serve for a longer time.

During the late 1960s and for the first year or so of the 1970s it has been necessary to induct more than one-half of those physically eligible. If the 1971 force levels are to be maintained indefinitely, it will be necessary to call-up an increasing percentage of the eligible group because the number of males in the group becoming eighteen years of age annually is decreasing. By 1980 it will have declined by about 20 percent, and there will be no reversal to the trend until there is a significant change in the national birth rate.

Discharged conscripts usually remain on reserve status in various categories until age fifty. Nearly two-fifths of the total force is replaced each year, creating a potential trained reserve of about 700,000 men under thirty years of age who have had active service within about ten years. The potential number is reduced by deaths, disability, and other factors, however, so that the actual figure is considerably lower.

All Warsaw Pact countries have mobilization plans, and all conduct periodic mobilization exercises. Those of Czechoslovakia, however, are given little or no publicity and are presumably undertaken on a local, rather than a national, basis.

Training

The typical conscript enters upon his tour of military duty with less premilitary training and with less service-oriented physical conditioning than is usual in the eastern European communist countries. In fact, military leaders complain frequently that the physical condition of draftees is steadily deteriorating, that interest in military schools dropped precipitously after 1968, and that young people lack basic military knowledge and are reluctant to discharge their military obligations. Recruiting of young men capable of becoming reserve officers in the numbers required by the services has been difficult since before 1960, and since 1968 it has become almost impossible.

Lack of tradition and interest and poor physical condition notwithstanding, the standard of living in the country is high, and the average conscript has a working familiarity with a variety of electric and mechanical devices. He is intelligent, has been in school at least until age fifteen and, although he may require somewhat more elementary basic and physical training during the first weeks of his service, once drafted or persuaded to enlist, he will probably become a capable and resourceful soldier.

Party and government leaders have seen improved premilitary training as essential to better service morale. A new, but not entirely adequate, secondary school program was made mandatory, commencing with the 1968/69 school term. In most of the schools it separates military from physical education because experience had indicated that when they were taught in combination, neither basic training nor physical conditioning was adequate. To give the new program priority, the Ministry of Education directed that military training be given in full- or half-day units. It is allotted only twenty-five hours a year, however, and is spread thinly across civil defense and topographic, medical, weapons firing, and basic-training subject areas.

Programs for primary schools are designed to include more elementary courses in civil defense, first aid, marching, and physical training. Games and contests with travel themes such as use of maps, for example. Self-defense and contact sports encourage individual competitiveness. Plans for the 1971/72 school year called for sixteen hours of premilitary training each year in the sixth through ninth grades.

Once inducted and assigned to duty, the basic soldier has a busy routine. The first weeks involve physical fitness testing and much rigorous activity to rectify deficiencies revealed by the tests. Daily schedules include six hours of training, two hours of supervised discussion or study, and two hours of recreation. On Saturdays and Sundays the men are free of duty except for a Saturday cleanup and inspection. The military oath to defend his country is taken in a ceremonial occasion after the individual's basic phase of the training has been completed. Invitations, which include a picture of the soldier in his new uniform, are sent to parents and close relatives.

For the remainder of the tour of duty, training progresses from individual skills to crew work on a weapon or other equipment to which the soldier is assigned and through small unit exercises to exercises involving progressively larger units. The cycle is customarily climaxed by multinational maneuvers that usually take place each autumn. Training programs are much the same in all of the Warsaw Pact members' armed forces and are patterned after those of the Soviet Union.

The Antonin Zapotocky Military Academy is the source of most regular career officers for all branches of the service. It accepts qualified candidates who are secondary school graduates and who intend to pursue a professional military career. The academy has found it difficult since 1968, however, to attract the quality of candidates it demands. Enrollment in the autumn 1968 class dropped 30 percent from that of a year earlier, and Slovak regions sent only 50 percent of the students they were allocated.

In 1969 the academy absorbed the Klement Gottwald Military Political Academy, which was dissolved. It now produces both regular military and political officers. Both undergraduate courses are for five years. Political students receive degrees in the political and social sciences; the regular military officers receive engineering degrees. Both schools also provide advanced courses. The political school awards doctorates in several special areas, and the military school offers advanced mid-career courses for higher ranking officers.

Reserve officer training programs have been extensively revised since 1960, and further radical changes were under consideration in 1971. Most special reserve officer training schools in existence in 1960 have been closed, and most candidates for reserve commissions have taken courses in secondary schools, which, during their last two years, have given them the equivalent of five months of full-time military training. Graduating from secondary school, the candidate then goes on active duty but takes six weeks of division-level training before he receives a commission. Critics of this program say that it not only produces poorly qualified officers, but that the technical training the candidates receive in secondary schools too often qualifies them for jobs that exempt them from military service.

The older and few remaining reserve officer candidate schools recruit graduates from general secondary education or equivalent technical schools and give them ten months of full-time military education. Graduates of this program receive commissions and are assigned directly to duty in tactical units.

Neither existing program appeared totally satisfactory to military authorities. The portion of the secondary school curriculum devoted to military training was frequently poorly taught and students treated it lightly. Their attitudes held over, and, consequently, their military performance was unsatisfactory. The ten-month special reserve officer training schools failed to attract sufficient numbers of students. A program under consideration would involve conscripted secondary school graduates, who would be evaluated after a year of basic service. If they appeared capable and interested, they would be offered a five- or six-month reserve officer training course at that time. Proponents of the program anticipated that it would give the military an opportunity to select competent men and, at the same time, men who responded favorably would have a good idea of what they were being trained for and would be much more likely to be satisfied with subsequent assignments.

Reserve officers are not career military men. They agree to serve only for a specified tour of active duty, usually of from five to eight years. They ordinarily occupy only the lower level junior officer positions in tactical units and are infrequently sent to advanced schools or selected for staff assignments. Upon expiration of their predetermined service time they revert to an inactive reserve status.

In practice, however, many of them are given the option of extending their active duty time and elect to do so. Others apply for admission to advanced military schools and continue thereafter to serve as career officers.

Warrant officers serve in much the same way as do commissioned reserve officers, but they are more likely to have a specialized technical or a particular administrative area in which they would be assigned exclusively. They may be platoon or company commanders, and they enlist for extended periods of active duty, usually in three- or five-year increments.

Most of those who enter the service in a warrant officer rank during the early 1970s will probably be graduates of a school that opened in late 1969. It accepts graduates of the nine-year primary schools and was established to produce company commanders for tank and motorized rifle divisions. Twelve-year secondary school graduates may become warrant officers by accepting an assignment to special training garrisons. At the end of two years they receive a warrant officer rank and start a five-year extended-duty tour.

Noncommissioned officer rank may be attained in a variety of ways. Secondary, trade, or technical school graduates may apply for noncommissioned officer training and receive approximately a year of schooling upon induction. Others, with or without the usual educational qualifications, may show aptitude and interest during their conscript tours and be sent to any one of many special schools that provide training in special skills. Still others, who may need to have no particular technical aptitude but who show ambition, good judgment, and the ability to lead a small group, could be promoted directly. In all cases, the noncommissioned officer ranks are given only to volunteers who are willing to accept extra responsibility and who will sign for an extended tour of active duty.

Morale and Conditions of Service

The chief prosecutor of the Czechoslovak armed forces (equivalent to the judge advocate general in Western armies) stated early in 1970 that the army was aware of its morale problem and of its responsibilities to deal with it. He cited the complexity and disorientation that had been characteristic since 1968 and the crisis that had caused a deterioration in discipline and a surfacing of all of the long-suppressed grievances and complaints of military personnel. Things had reached a point, he said, where discipline had to be restored but, at the same time, many changes had to be made in the fundamental conditions of the service.

Although the deteriorated situation required drastic action, many of the measures to improve the forces that were undertaken in 1970 were part of a command action program that had been initiated in May

1968, before the invasion of the country. This program called for reforms in housing, elimination of many routine and inconsequential jobs, a five-day week, better social benefits, and more realistic political education and ideological training.

Incentives to young officers, a group that had been resigning in disturbingly large numbers, included attempts to make the service an interesting and rewarding professional career. Creativity and innovation were to be encouraged. Material incentives included bonuses to join, shorter basic service tours for volunteers, and severance pay for those leaving the service. Added inducements were directed at university students. In mid-1971, however, it was not yet clear whether favorable results from the various incentives and reforms were being achieved.

Medicine

Medical services include regular medical checkups, dental care, and immunizations, as well as the routine medical care and emergency treatment. Preventive medicine measures include sanitation and epidemic prevention services. Because of the many hot and mineral springs in the country and the local reputation they have for curative qualities, the military has a balneotherapy section that is unusually large considering the size of the service.

There is a considerable interchange between military and civilian medical services. The military avails itself of civilian hospital space or medical specialists as they may be required. The military's emergency services are available to civilians in many circumstances, and military units participate actively in countrywide epidemic services, both in treatment and prevention. Czechoslovak authorities commended military units, for example, for their work during the 1970 cholera epidemic.

Military doctors are in short supply, but the conditions of their military service appear to be satisfactory. Spokesmen have pointed out that there were less than five military among the several hundred doctors that remained abroad after the 1968 invasion. It is possible, however, that those in the service may have had fewer opportunities to move freely during the emergency than were probably available to civilians.

Military Justice

The jurisdiction of military courts is defined in the federal criminal code adopted in 1969. Ordinarily, their jurisdiction includes armed forces personnel on active duty, prisoners of war, and personnel of other armed forces who might be in Czechoslovakia or subject to its laws. In borderline situations, where practices may vary from country

to country, the tendency in Czechoslovakia is to favor trial by the military court. For example, anyone—military or civilian—who is called to duty to assist the armed forces, is subject to military law. If a man evades military service he is subject to trial by the military, as are all who commit crimes of treason or crimes against the military establishment. If a military man's crime is not discovered until he has been discharged from the service, military authorities decide whether to try him or to waive jurisdiction to a civil court.

The presence of Soviet units in the country creates legal problems when incidents occur that involve Soviet personnel or property. An agreement establishing essential guidelines to apply in such situations was arrived at in February 1969. According to its terms, each country may avail itself of any assistance the other can provide, which may include translation, investigation, surrendering of witnesses, or use of any agency or facility in either nation's court system that might be needed. For Czechoslovakia, this could involve both civil and military courts, but there are no Soviet civil courts in the country.

Unless there were unusual reasons, all Soviet persons would be tried in Soviet courts and according to the laws of the Soviet Union. Czechoslovaks would be tried in Czechoslovak courts—military or civil, depending upon which had jurisdiction over the individual involved—and according to Czechoslovak laws.

The military courts are subject to regulation and control by the Ministry of Justice. The men who are at the top of the military court system and who determine its policies are appointed either by the minister of justice or by the party leadership. Finally, the decision of any military court is subject to review by the federal Supreme Court.

Logistics

Rear Services (logistics) is organized on the pattern of the supply services in the Soviet and other Warsaw Pact armies. It comprises a main directorate whose chief is a deputy minister of national defense, and it procures and distributes most of the weapons, ammunition, military equipment, and other supplies to the entire armed forces establishment. Uniformity of organization and procedures and standardization of many items of armament and equipment in the various pact forces allow easier interchange of materiel among them and better coordination of their training and tactical procedures.

Reflecting the gradual improvement in the country's economic conditions, each soldier receives a considerably large issue of individual equipment, and the items are of better quality than those of earlier years. In addition, the outlay for food per soldier has been substantially increased. The forces claim to be applying the results of the latest dietary studies to supply the men with nutritionally

balanced, well prepared, hot meals and to be serving them under all but the most rigorous of training conditions.

Spokesmen for the armed forces claim that the quantity of equipment in service units has increased by 150 percent since World War II and that there has been a similar increase in its complexity. At the same time it is maintained by only 20 percent more personnel. Although much of the prewar armament production facilities of the country was removed during the early postwar years, Czechoslovak skills and experience have more recently been put to use to produce a large number of light- and medium-weight items of military equipment.

The Soviet Union continues to supply tanks, combat aircraft, and heavy artillery and similar weapons. The Czechoslovaks, however, produce components and spare parts for many of them, and the variety of complete materiel items that is locally produced is extensive.

Of four main types of quick assembly military bridges used by the ground forces, three have been developed since World War II and incorporate features designed to make them lighter, easier to assemble, less vulnerable to enemy gunfire, and capable of handling heavier loads at higher speeds. One type is designed to handle all weights of military vehicles and mobile equipment at their road speeds; the others are pontoon and combination fixed bridge and pontoon types.

Several military repair vehicles are locally designed conversions of Soviet military trucks. The various models include units for communications, electronics, plumbing, and vehicle repair. The mobile units take maintenance personnel, tools, and spare parts in a self-contained package to wherever needed.

Armament items include a light and versatile wire-guided antitank missile and an extremely light, but relatively large caliber, recoilless rifle. The missile and its launcher can be hand carried, but launchers are ordinarily mounted in groups of four on cargo trucks or armored personnel carriers. The recoilless rifle is 82 millimeter, has a range of 4-1/2 miles, and weighs only 750 pounds. It has added to the firepower of several older weapons carriers, primarily the World War II half-track, and has extended such vehicles' useful service lives.

The aviation industry employs nearly 30,000 people, about 10 percent of them in research and development. Some Czechoslovak aeronautical designs have good reputations worldwide. About 80 percent of production was exported during the 1950s and 1960s, to customers in about fifty countries.

The industry produces a variety of gliders, small liaison, ground reconnaissance, small transport planes, and training aircraft. Probably the best is the L-39 jet trainer. In 1971 technical analysts in West Germany considered it the most modern and versatile aircraft of its

type that had been produced anywhere in the world. It is produced in six models for different training roles, and it is being used in several other Warsaw Pact members' air forces. It is light and economical but can fly at more than 500 miles per hour. It is the only aircraft produced in Eastern Europe or the Soviet Union with an ejection seat designed for high speed emergency situations. This airplane appears likely to succeed the L-29 Delfin trainer, also Czechoslovak-built, which has been the standard trainer in all Eastern European Warsaw Pact members' air forces except those of East Germany and Poland.

The L-410 twin-engined turboprop passenger and cargo aircraft is another well accepted design. It is used in military and civil aviation, carries twelve to eighteen passengers or the equivalent in cargo, has a crew of one or two, can cruise at about 230 miles per hour, and has a range of about 500 miles. It can land or take off from short, unimproved strips and can use wheels, floats, or skis.

Ranks, Uniforms, and Decorations

There are eleven officer, six warrant officer, and four enlisted ranks. Of the officer ranks, four are generals, three are field grade, and the four lowest are company grade. Rank insignia are displayed on shoulder boards. The cloth base of the board is the same color as the uniform for all ranks. The general, field grade, and the three highest warrant officers' boards have piping around all but the open end of the board. All other ranks are devoid of piping. The piping braid is gold on officers' boards and silver on warrant officers' boards. General rank is shown by large gold stars. The major general's single star is centered on the board, and the others are arranged in line. Field and company grade officers have smaller gold stars. The single stars of the major and the junior lieutenant are located toward the outer end of the board, and those ranks with more than one star have them arranged in clusters. Warrant officers have small silver stars arranged in a line (see table 10).

Enlisted men's shoulder boards have no piping or other ornamentation. Grade is indicated by silver buttons at the end of the board. Privates have none; privates first class have one; corporals have two; and sergeants have three.

Field uniforms are those used in rough work or in combat conditions. Depending upon the need in a specific job, they could be camouflaged or impregnated to make them water, heat, or oil resistant. Chemical warfare and decontamination units have protective boots, gloves, and headgear. The basic outfit may be one or two piece; either type fits loosely and for warmth in winter may be worn over the service uniform.

The service uniform is worn in most light work, training, and ordinary relaxation. It is worn on or off the station and is the outfit

Table 10. Military Ranks and Insignia in Czechoslovakia, 1971

Rank	Insignia	Description
General Officers:		
Army general.....	Four stars	
Colonel general.....	Three stars	
Lieutenant general.....	Two stars	
Major general.....	One star	
Field Grade Officers:		
Colonel.....	Three stars	
Lieutenant colonel.....	Two stars	
Major.....	One star	
Company Grade Officers:		
Captain.....	Four stars	
Senior lieutenant.....	Three stars	
Lieutenant.....	Two stars	
Junior lieutenant.....	One star	
Chief Warrant Officers:		
Senior chief warrant officer...	Three stars	
Chief warrant officer.....	Two stars	
Junior chief warrant officer...	One star	
Warrant Officers:		
Senior warrant officer.....	Three stars	
Warrant officer.....	Two stars	
Junior warrant officer.....	One star	
Enlisted Men:		
Sergeant.....	Three buttons	Plain shoulder boards, small
Corporal.....	Two buttons	bronze buttons.
Private first class.....	One button	
Private.....		Plain shoulder boards.

most frequently seen. Its shirt is the outer garment on hot summer days, but its belted jacket is worn when the weather is cool and in winter. It is dull olive green and is worn with low shoes or with the trousers tucked into calf-length boots.

The officer's dress uniform is more closely fitted at the waist and has no belt. It is worn with a visored cap and low shoes. Enlisted men wear the service uniform with more attractive accessories for dress and may wear it with low brown shoes, a stiff-collared shirt, and a nylon necktie. The beret became the basic dress cap for enlisted men around 1968.

A large number of decorations have been established by law, and most of them may be awarded to armed forces personnel. A few higher ranking officers wear fifteen or more Czechoslovak and foreign decorations, but since about 1948 a large share of the awards receiving

publicity have been given to party organizations, military units, or enterprises for civic accomplishments.

Most combat decorations were awarded for service with Soviet forces during World War II and to those participating in resistance against the German occupation. State decorations and honorary titles based on activities in 1968 and bestowed by the government before the August invasion of the country have been revoked.

THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT AND THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

According to official Czechoslovak sources, defense expenditures of Kč13.9 billion (1 koruna equals US\$0.14 at the official rate of exchange—see Glossary) estimated for 1970 were 5 percent of national income. This figure was arrived at by using statistics that included some items of income not ordinarily included in national income statistics in other countries, and Western sources compute Czechoslovak defense costs as about 5.5 percent of national income. The percentage has remained relatively constant since 1962 and, using Western calculations, has ranged between about 5.5 and 5.7 percent. Percentages in all other Warsaw Pact countries are lower, and Czechoslovakia's is exceeded in only a very few other European countries.

Although they have leveled off at a relatively high figure, military expenditures in the 1960s were much less of a burden than they were from 1950 to 1956, when they ranged between 10 and 12 percent of the national income. Modernization of the forces was essentially accomplished by 1962. Since that time, changes in equipment have been gradual, personnel levels have been fairly constant, and most expenditures have been routine. They remain relatively high because the force is large in relation to the size of the country.

The 175,000 to 200,000 men in the regular forces represent about 1.3 percent of the population, 9 percent of the healthy male military age group, and 6 percent of the male labor force. The ratio of men in the armed forces to the other population groups is also higher than in any other Warsaw Pact country and is among the highest in Europe. It constitutes a substantial inroad into the country's productive manpower and, as such, is a more serious burden to the economy than is the financial cost of the military establishment.

Military units participate in a considerable number of civil construction programs, including highway, railroad, airport, housing, and industrial construction. Engineering units, for example, have assisted in the building of the Prague subway. The Prague garrison claimed that it contributed over 300,000 hours of labor to construction projects in 1968 and that about 1,400 of its personnel worked on national committees or commissions; 1,100, in the judicial system; and 550, in civil defense work.

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GLOSSARY

COMECON—Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Founded in 1949; headquarters in Moscow. Members are Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, and the Soviet Union. Purpose is to further economic cooperation among members.

haleru (sing., halter)—100 halter equal 1 koruna.

hectare—1 hectare equals 2.471 acres. Metric unit of land measurement.

koruna (Kc)—Standard unit of currency. Officially rated at the artificial level of Kc1 equals US\$0.14, the actual exchange rate varies according to specific transactions, such as tourist exchange, foreign trade exchange, hard currency purchase, or black market transactions.

KSC—Komunisticka Strana Ceskoslovenska (Communist Party of Czechoslovakia).

metric ton—1 metric ton equals 2,204.6 pounds.

Warsaw Pact—Military alliance of communist countries founded in 1955, headquartered in Moscow. The Soviet minister of defense is traditionally the supreme commander of Warsaw Pact forces. Members are Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the Soviet Union.

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